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Diversity and Standardization

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Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jörg Klinger,
Gerfrid G. W. Müller (Eds.)

Diversity and Standardization

Perspectives on social and political
norms in the ancient Near East



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Gernot Wilhelm
Dem Kollegen, Lehrer und Freund

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Preface

The ancient Near East is a historical construct defined by present-day scientific investigations, a construct whose temporal and spatial boundaries are fuzzy, constantly shifting under the weight of new empirical data and increasingly sophisticated analytical methods. Its objects of investigation, even those that have resided in museum collections for generations, are in flux, as the profound cultural, geographical, ethnic and social diversity of the ancient Near East threatens to drown out any points of commonality. Each historical phase within its long history can only be seen as a center of gravity, identifiable on the basis of urban social practices and the use of writing. Though essentially an epiphenomenon, the type of writing known as cuneiform functions not only as a point of demarcation between the historic and the prehistoric, but also as a jumping off point for a number of different Near Eastern disciplines. Thus even as the ancient Near East designates a region of southwest Asia, it does so from the culture-historical point of view of a European tradition rooted in early modernity.

Still in its vagueness lies an enormous potential as a designation: the ancient Near East represents, in the strict sense of the term, a powerful example of regional or area studies, drawing together a diverse range of methods (philological, historical, archaeological and iconographic) in synthetic work on a family of related societies. The temporal span of the archaeologists is the most dramatic, extending from the earliest settled communities in the late Neolithic far into the Islamic period. In their concern with contacts between widely scattered regions as well as phenomena such as cultural interaction and the transfer of knowledge, Near Eastern archaeologists are largely concerned with what in later periods we might speak of as globalization. Philological and historical analyses of the cuneiform sources in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Hurrian, Ugaritic, Urartian, Elamite and Old Persian happily shed light on non-cuneiform materials in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Persian and Arabic, and *vica versa*. The conceptual uniqueness, worldview and history of ideas that comes into view, in all its variety and detail, through these sources can then be combined with the knowledge generated through archaeological methods to describe the ancient Near East as both a heterogeneous yet cross-culturally coherent cultural sphere.

Even as the region comes into increasing clear relief in its cultural, geographical, ethnic and social diversity, its points of commonality also come increasingly into view. It is these points of commonality amid the profound diversity of the ancient Near East that draws us to Diversity and Standardization as categories of cross-cultural and trans-historical analysis, that asks whether these categories have a life of their own in the

length and breadth of human history. As we look across the variegated horizons of antiquity, do these categories have any real analytical power?

The introduction of a new system of measurement or bookkeeping technique or even the imposition of a standardized repertoire of pottery forms are just some examples of the real power of processes of standardization to stabilize territorial political entities. Seemingly, the problem must be posed for the ancient Near East at an even more fundamental level, however: what role do concepts, methods of standardization and, more generally, sign systems play in the reconfiguration and reconstitution of cultural, political, religious, scientific and social spaces?

In the context of a symposium entitled *Normierung und Emanzipation: Bausteine für eine Kulturgeschichte des 2. Jts. v. Chr. im Alten Orient* these questions were addressed in a number of philological, historical, linguistic, and archaeological case studies.¹

The relationship between language and text in multilingual societies was dealt with in David Owen's (Ithaca) presentation on two extensive corpora from the Ur III period, while Mirjo Salvini (Rome) looked at bilingualism in the Akkadian-Urartian royal inscriptions. Jan-Waalke Meyer (Frankfurt) described processes of urbanization in north-west Syria on the basis of excavations from Tell Chuera and the so-called Kranzhugel sites. On the basis of the text from Harradum, Dominique Charpin (Paris) presented on the end of the Old Babylonian period. Daniel Schwemer (London, now Würzburg) investigated the role of (Mittani)-Assyrian as well as Babylonian influences on the transmission of magical texts in Hittite, while Mauro Giorgieri (Pavia) looked at the influence that Hurrian materials had on the Hittite tradition. The presentation of Theo van den Hout (Chicago) took the origin of cuneiform variants in the Hittite texts as his theme and this led to an interesting discussion of orthographic standardization. In contrast, Jean-Marie Durand's (Paris) contribution looked at strategies of name giving in Old Babylonian Mari, in particular in terms of the individual and social identities that personal names bring into being. Alfonso Archi (Rome) described the relative flexibility (or stability) of the interdependencies between goddesses of fate in a number of different traditions. The contribution from Stefan Maul (Heidelberg) dealt with a similar topic, focusing on latent monotheisms in Assyria and Babylon. John D. Hawkins (London) stalked the lines of tradition emanating from an ancient Anatolian hunting cult and its divinities, tracing them down into the Iron Age on the basis of a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Ancoz in Commagene. Itamar Singer (Tel Aviv) offered a reanalysis of the research history devoted to the influence of various historiographic and cultural paradigms on Hittite history.

The thematic spectrum of these case studies cannot claim any methodological completeness or systematicity. It reflects, however imperfectly, the profile of the analytical methods that are currently being used to investigate the ancient Near East: both, multilin-

¹ The program of the meeting is reproduced on p. 221.

gualism and a profound interest in the textual minutia of individual languages; an awareness of the multifarious variety of cultural interdependencies alongside glimpses of the social specificity and its local micro-history; a respect for methodological differences as well as a renewed advocacy for the interdependence of ancient Near Eastern traditions.

The acknowledgement of diversity and standardization has always been a major interest in the scholarly work of Gernot Wilhelm. On the welcome occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the conferral of his PhD as well as his sixty-fifth birthday, the speakers presented their ideas with regard to his special areas of interest. Following the conference some of these casestudies have been scripted and assembled in this volume as a token of esteem to a great scholar, colleague, and friend.

We would like to thank the research center EC 264 TOPOI (*The Formation and Transformation of Space and Knowledge in Ancient Civilizations*)², which not only made the conference possible under the auspices of research group B-III-3³, but also made available the spacial and inspiring accommodations of the TOPOI House at Freie Universität in Berlin-Dahlem. Special thanks to the Coordinator for Area B, Sandra Feix, M.A., who with the help of the staff at TOPOI as well as the students from ancient Near Eastern studies was responsible for the day-to-day organization of the meeting. We would also like to thank Judith Esders, M.A., Dr. des. Andreas Graff and, above all, Dr. des. Sebastian Fischer, Dr. Cale Johnson for their work in preparing this volume for publication and Akademie-Verlag for overseeing its production.

As the volume was nearing completion, we received word that our colleague Itamar Singer has passed away. In the course of the symposium, he continually demonstrated the sense of humor, acumen and tenacity that we might have expected from a historian of his stature, as he interrogated the normative power of scientific paradigms. He will be sorely missed.

Berlin, September 2012

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jörg Klinger, Gerfrid G.W. Müller

² The growing use of English as a lingua communis represents a telling example of the "reshaping process" that we find in scientific systems.

³ Diversity and Standardization was the title of a small research project which was developed by E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and J. Klinger and drew on case studies involving hieroglyphic Luwian and metrological systems in order to investigate the role of cultural techniques in processes of standardization; see E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and J. Klinger, Diversity and Standardization. Gemeinsamer Bericht der Forschergruppe B III-3, in: Friederike Fless, Gerd Graßhoff, Michael Meyer (eds.), Berichte der Forschergruppen auf der Topoi-Plenartagung 2010. eTopoi, Journal for Ancient Studies 1, 2011, <http://journal.topoi.org>; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Metrische Normierung: zu einer administrativen Dimension des politischen Raumes im Alten Orient, in: O. Dally, F. Fless, R. Haensch, F. Pirson, S. Sievers (Hrsg.) "Politische Räume. Gestaltung - Wahrnehmung - Funktion" (in print).

Vorwort

Der *Alte Orient* ist ein konstruierter Raum. Seine Grenzen in Raum und Zeit sind unscharf, seine Forschungsgegenstände unterliegen kontinuierlich der Veränderung. Eine Art Gravitationszentrum bildet darin sicher jene historische Phase, die durch die Entstehung frühstaatlicher Gesellschaften und den Gebrauch der Schrift gekennzeichnet ist. Dabei fungiert das kulturelle Epiphänomen einer Schriftart „Keilschrift“ nicht nur als Trennlinie zwischen schriftführenden (historischen) und schriftlosen (*prähistorischen*) Perioden, sondern auch als Moment der Abgrenzung zu zahlreichen anderen, altertumswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen. Damit wird deutlich, dass der Begriff *Alter Orient* vor allem wissenschaftshistorische und wissenschaftssystematische Dimension hat: er bestimmt die Region Südwestasiens kulturhistorisch aus der europäischen Tradition der Frühen Neuzeit.

Doch in ihrer Vagheit liegt zugleich die enorme Leistungsfähigkeit der Bezeichnung: der *Alte Orient* steht für einen im strengen Sinne regionalwissenschaftlichen Ansatz, wie er in jüngster Zeit durch die *Area studies* (wieder)entdeckt wurde. Dieser Begriff steht für eine Forschungsperspektive, die unterschiedliche Methoden der Forschung – namentlich philologische, historische, archäologische und kunsthistorische sowie das breite Spektrum der systematischen Bindestrich-Methoden – einbezieht. Die archäologische Forschung erstreckt sich vom Beginn der Sesshaftigkeit im späten Neolithikum bis weit in die islamische Zeit: In den Kontakten, die zwischen weit entfernten Regionen nachgewiesen werden können, in der Intensität von Austausch- und Transferbeziehungen spiegeln sich Phänomene, die in anderen Epochen mit dem Begriff Globalisierung belegt worden sind. Philologische und historische Analyse beziehen neben den keilschriftlichen Quellen in sumerischer, akkadischer, hethitischer, hurritischer, ugaritischer, urartäischer, elamischer und altpersischer Sprache auch die hebräische, griechische, lateinische, persische und arabische Überlieferung ein: Eigenbegrifflichkeit, Anschauungen und Ideengeschichte in großer Mannigfaltigkeit und Detailliertheit erschließen in Verbindung mit den durch archäologische Methoden gewonnenen Erkenntnissen den *Alten Orient* als einen heterogenen und doch in gewissen Belangen kohärenten Kulturraum.

Denn in demselben Maße, in dem die kulturelle, geographische, ethnische und gesellschaftliche Diversität im *Alten Orient* an Kontur gewinnen, treten auch die Gemeinsamkeiten deutlicher hervor. Dies lenkt den Blick auf *Vielfalt* und *Normierung* als Kategorien kulturgeschichtlicher Betrachtung, und es stellt sich die Frage, inwieweit diese als Elemente des historischen Prozesses selbst wirksam sind, genauer: welche Rolle spielten Standardisierungs- und Normierungsprozesse für die Erzeugung von Kohärenz und Iden-

tität besonders in großräumigen territorialen Strukturen? Inwieweit nutzte beispielsweise der frühe Staat im *Alten Orient* das homogenisierende und identitätsstiftende Potential von Normierung? Annahmen oder Einsichten über diese Zusammenhänge werden allerdings in den keilschriftlichen Quellen kaum je direkt thematisiert. Andererseits: Die Einführung eines neuen Maßsystems, eine Schrifthereform, die Durchsetzung eines neuen keramischen Formenrepertoires sind Beispiele für die aktive Nutzung des Wissens um die Wirkmächtigkeit von Normierungsprozessen zur Stabilisierung territorialer Herrschaft. Die genannten Beispiele stehen freilich für eine bestimmte Konfiguration, nämlich die systematische Einführung von normierten Strukturen bzw. Instrumentarien als Herrschaftsstrategie. Doch die Frage stellt sich natürlich sehr viel grundsätzlicher: Welchen Anteil haben Konzepte, Regelungsmechanismen und Zeichensysteme an der Erzeugung von kulturell, politisch, religiös, wirtschaftlich und sozial überformten Räumen?

Im Rahmen eines Symposiums mit dem Titel *Normierung und Emanzipation: Bausteine für eine Kulturgeschichte des 2. Jts. v. Chr. im Alten Orient* wurde diese Frage im Januar 2010 in philologischen, historischen, linguistischen, textwissenschaftlichen, religionsgeschichtlichen und archäologischen Fallstudien diskutiert.¹ Das Verhältnis von Sprache und Text in multilingualen Gesellschaften behandelte der Beitrag von David Owen (Itaca) am Beispiel zweier umfangreicher Textkorpora aus der Ur III-Zeit, während Mirjo Salvini (Rom) das Phänomen der zweisprachigen assyrisch-urartäischen Königsinschriften näher beleuchtete. Am Beispiel der Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera und den sogenannten „Kranz-Hügel“ Siedlungen zeichnete Jan-Waalke Meyer (Frankfurt) bereits für den Beginn des 3. Jt. einen eigenständigen Urbanisierungsprozeß für Nordost-Syrien nach.

Anhand von Texten aus Harradum beschäftigte sich Dominique Charpin (Paris) mit dem Ende der altbabylonischen Epoche. Fragen der Tradierung von Wissen bzw. der Rezeption wissenschaftlich-literarischer Texte standen im Zentrum der Beiträge von Daniel Schwemer (London) zur Rolle (mittano-)assyrischer und babylonischer Einflüsse in der hethitischen magischen Überlieferung, bzw. von Mauro Giorgieri (Pavia) zum hurritischen Einfluß auf die hethitische Tradition. Der Beitrag von Theo van den Hout (Chicago) thematisierte das Problem der Herkunft der hethitischen Keilschriftvariante und kam damit auf Fragen von orthographischer Normierung zu sprechen. Demgegenüber führte der Beitrag von Jean-Marie Durand (Paris) mit den Strategien der Namengebung in Mari in altbabylonischer Zeit in den Bereich des Individuums und der sozialen Identität. Am Beispiel der Schicksalsgöttinnen in unterschiedlichen Traditionszusammenhängen zeigte Alfonso Archi (Rom) das Zusammenspiel von stabilen und flexiblen Anteilen in einem religiösen Konzept. Diesem Phänomen widmete sich auch der Beitrag von Stefan Maul (Heidelberg) zum latenten Monotheismus in Assyrien und Babylonien. John D. Hawkins (London) verfolgte die Traditionslinien eines altanatolischen Jagdkultes und

¹ Das Programm der Tagung siehe im vorliegenden Band, S. 221.

der damit verbundenen Gottheiten von der mittleren und späten Bronzezeit bis in die Eisenzeit anhand der hieroglyphenluwischen Inschriften von Ancoz in der Kommagene. Itamar Singer (Tel Aviv) verdeutlichte in einer forschungsgeschichtlichen Analyse zur hethitischen Historiographie den Einfluss wechselnder wissenschaftlicher und kultureller Paradigmen.

Das thematische Spektrum dieser Fallstudien erhebt keinerlei Anspruch auf systematische oder methodische Vollständigkeit. Es spiegelt sich darin vielmehr ein Profil des wissenschaftlichen Zugriffs, das die Forschung zum *Alten Orient* auszeichnet: Vielsprachigkeit *und* Interesse für das einzelsprachliche, individuelle textliche Detail; Wissen um die vielen Verbindungen zwischen den Kulturen *und* zugleich Blick auf das je Spezifische jeder einzelnen Gesellschaft und ihrer kulturellen Äußerungen; Respekt für die Vielfalt der wissenschaftlichen Methoden *und* Eintreten für ihr Zusammenwirken bei der Interpretation der altorientalischen Überlieferung. Gernot Wilhelm steht als Freund, Lehrer und Mentor für dieses Profil, und so waren 40-jähriges Promotionsjubiläum und 65. Geburtstag willkommene Anlässe, die eingangs umrissene Problematik in historischen Kontexten zu untersuchen, denen sein besonderes Forschungsinteresse galt. Eine Reihe dieser Fallstudien wurde durch die Referenten für die Publikation ausgearbeitet und in diesem Band zusammengestellt.

Wir danken dem Forschungsverbund *EC 264 TOPOI: The formation and transformation of space and knowledge in Ancient Civilizations*², der nicht nur die Tagung im Kontext der Forschergruppe B-III-3 *Diversity and Standardization*³ ermöglicht hat, sondern mit dem TOPOI-Haus an der Freien Universität in Dahlem einen gleichermaßen großzügigen wie inspirierenden Ort für den wissenschaftlichen Austausch zur Verfügung stellte. Unser besonderer Dank gilt der Koordinatorin der Area B, Sandra Feix M.A., die – unterstützt vom Team der TOPOI-Verwaltung und den Studenten des Seminars für Altorientalistik – mit unermüdlichem Einsatz die Tagung organisatorisch betreut hat. Judith Esders M.A., Dr. des. Andreas Gräff, vor allem aber Dr. des. Sebastian Fischer haben die in diesem

² Zu den latenten Überformungsprozessen im System Wissenschaft gehört auch die Durchsetzung des Englischen als *lingua communis*.

³ *Diversity and Standardization* war der Titel eines kleinen Forschungsprojektes, in dem anhand von Fallstudien zur luwischen Hieroglyphenschrift und zu metrologischen Systemen eine Methodologie zur Untersuchung von kulturtechnischen Normierungsprozessen entwickelt wurde, vgl. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum & J. Klinger, *Diversity and Standardization*. Gemeinsamer Bericht der Forschergruppe B III-3, in: Friederike Fless, Gerd Graßhoff, Michael Meyer (Hgg.), *Berichte der Forschergruppen auf der Topoi-Plenartagung 2010*. eTopoi, Journal for Ancient Studies 1, 2011, <http://journal.topoi.org>; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Metrische Normierung: zu einer administrativen Dimension des politischen Raumes im Alten Orient, in: O. Dally, F. Fless, R. Haensch, F. Pirson, S. Sievers (Hrsg.), *Politische Räume. Gestaltung – Wahrnehmung – Funktion* (in Druck).

Band versammelten Beiträge für den Druck vorbereitet. Dem Akademie-Verlag sei für die gute Betreuung gedankt.

Mit Fertigstellung des Bandes erreicht uns die Nachricht vom Tod unseres Kollegen Itamar Singer. Er hat in den Diskussionen immer wieder mit Humor, Scharfsinn und Beharrlichkeit auf die Verantwortung des Historikers hingewiesen, die normative Kraft wissenschaftlicher Paradigmen zu hinterfragen.

Berlin, im September 2012

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jörg Klinger, Gerfrid G.W. Müller

The Anatolian Fate-Goddesses and their Different Traditions

1. *Išduštaya and Papaya*

In an often quoted passage of an Old-Hittite ritual for the erection of a new palace, KUB 29.1(+) (CTH 414),¹ the king says:

“To me, the king, have the gods (that is) – the Sun-god(dess) and the Storm-god – entrusted the land and my house. I, the king, shall rule over my land and my house. ... To me, the king, has Ḫalamašuit (the Hattic Throne-goddess) brought from the Sea the (insignia of) authority (and) the coach; thereupon have they opened to me the land of my mother (i.e. the Sun-goddess) and called me Labarna, the king. From then on I have been directing my request to the Storm-god, my father. ... The Throne-goddess hails the Eagle: Go! I am sending thee to the Sea ... The Eagle says: I have searched. Only Išduštaya (and) Papaya, the primeval goddesses of the netherworld, the daughters-in-law, (*kat-te-ir-ri-eš ka-ru-ú-e-li-e-eš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ku-ú-še-eš*) are kneeling ... One holds a distaff, they hold full spindles.² They are spinning the years of the king. The shortness of the years, their calculation cannot be seen.” (I 23-II 10)

This ritual has a general Hattic background.³ In particular, Išduštaya and Papaya are Hattic goddesses,⁴ who appear in Hattic texts, KUB 28.15 I 5a: *Eš-du-uš-ta-ya* [; KBo 37.11 II 14, 15: *Pa-a-pa-a-i-ya-a* (without divine determinative).

For the Hattians, life was compared to a thread, a metaphor well diffused also in the Indo-European milieu (it is attested in Greek, Latin, Germanic and perhaps also in Indo-

* Università La Sapienza, Roma.

¹ Carini 1982. An English translation was provided by Albrecht Goetze in ANET 357–358.

² A bronze “middle-whorl-spindle” (14 cm long, diameter of the disc: 4.5 cm), and a silver one with a golden tip (16 cm long, 7 cm in diameter) were found at Horoztepe, Özguç – Akok 1958, 15 f. (with figs. 25–26), 45, 51 and Pl. VIII 1–3. For another bronze spindle, see Koşay 1951, Pl. 197, 1. For ^(GIŠ)*ḫueša-* “spindle”, and ^(GIŠ)*ḫulali-* “distaff”, see Oettinger 1976, 64–66. The textual documentation has been represented by Ofitsch 2001. An etymological derivation of ^(GIŠ)*ḫueša-* from *ḫueš-* “to live” is unlikely, *HED H*, 343.

³ At least, for most of the interpreters, see Klinger 1996, 125 f. and 140 f.

⁴ For Išduštaya, see Otten 1976–1980a; for Papaya, see Frantz-Szabó 2003–2005.

Iranian and Slavic literatures),⁵ which the Hittites received instead from the Hattic substrate. Išduštaya and Papaya coexisted (as will be shown here below) with the Hittite Fate-goddesses, the Gulšeš, who never were assimilated to them. They used a different technique: that “to engrave, inscribe”, *gulš-*, the destiny of mankind.

1.1 Celebrations in the *hešta*-house⁶

In the texts in Hittite, Išduštaya and Papaya⁷ appear mostly in the cult for the chthonic gods of the *hešta*-house in Ḫattuša (CTH 645), where the *purulli*-festival was celebrated, that is the Hattic festival of the Earth (*wur*), in spring, “when the land prospers (and) thrives.” These rites had the aim of guaranteeing that life continued.

According to the OH manuscript KBo 17.15 Vs. 9-17 (StBoT 25 no. 27), the worshipped gods were:

Lelwani - Šiwat - Tašammat - Tašimmet - UTU - Ištuštaya - Papaya - Ḫašammila - Zilipuri.⁸

NH duplicates of this list are KBo 17.40 + 25.177 I 1-5 (+ KBo 24.111 I¹ 2-17);⁹ the fragmentary KBo 23.69 Rs. 1-8. Further lists of the same festival are:

KBo 13.216 VI 1-6: Išduštaya] - Pappaya - Ḫašammili - Zilipuri - [.
 KBo 25.71(a) + KBo 31.208(b) 1-13; [Išdušt]ya Papaya (in *a* 14 + *b* 10).
 KUB 58.28 III 2-IV 8:] Išduštaya Lelw[ani] [U.GUR] - Šitarz[una -
 GIŠ¹⁰AB-ya] - GIŠ¹¹hattalwaš GIŠ - Zappa - MU^{HLA}.
 KUB 58.50 V 3-11:] Išduštaya - Pappaya - [Ḫašammil]i - [. ¹⁰

The redaction of this festival which was celebrated in the *hešta*-house on the eleventh day of the Spring festival (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}) lists the following gods, IBoT 3.1 (CTH 609) 44-49:

Lelwani - UD.SIG₅¹ - (taknaš) UTU - Papaya - Išduštaya - Ḫašamili - U.GUR -
 Šitaršuna - GIŠ¹²AB-ya - ḫatalwaš GIŠ - Zappa(š) - MU^{HLA}.¹¹

⁵ Giannakis 1998.

⁶ Another festival of Hattic origin with Išduštaya (and) Papaya is documented by the fragment KBo 37.161, in ll. 2-5: Zalinu [] Wurunkatte [] NIN.É.GAL Išt[uštaya Papaya] Eštanu.

⁷ For the writings of the two names in the documents in Hittite, see van Gessel 1998, 206 f. and 349 f.

⁸ Cfr. Yoshida 1996, 94.

⁹ Haas – Wäfler 1976, 86 f.

¹⁰ KBo 25.30 (Išduštaya in l. 15) belongs either to CTH 645 or CTH 609.

Lelwani and his circle were deities of Hattic origin.¹² Lelwani received the Hattic epithet of *katte* “king,” in the bilingual mythological section of a ritual for the building of a palace for the king, KBo 37.1 lk. Sp. 5-6 - r. Sp. 5: (the Storm-god) ^DŠāru (= ^DTāru) *kātte* ^DLēlwani *kātte* - ^DIM-aš LUGAL-uš *Lēlwaniš-a* LUGAL-uš.¹³ The two gods give their approval for the Sun-goddess to build for herself a palace in Liḫzina. Ḫašammili (who appears also in the *ḫešta*-celebrations) takes part in this building as the blacksmith of the gods (ll. 9-21).

Hittite Šiwat, “Day,” Hattic Izzištanu,¹⁴ logogram UD.SIG₅ “Propitious Day,” was the day on which one dies. Taknaš UTU was Wurunšemu/Urūnzimu “Mother of the Earth,” an epithet of the Sun-goddess Eštan qualifying her as a chthonic deity.¹⁵ Zilipuri was a god connected with the hearth; his logogram, U.GUR,¹⁶ is the same as Šulinkatte. In the list KUB 44.23 Zilipuri is replaced by Šulinkatte (also a Hattic god).¹⁷ In the Hattic-Hittite Bilingual KUB 2.2 + 48.1 II 37 ff., where the gods build a palace for the king, Zilipuri “the king,” *katte* / LUGAL-uš, builds the throne (*ḫānwašuiitt-* / *ḫalamašuiitt-*) (ll. 14-18).¹⁸ Tašimmet was a “concubine” of the Storm-god.¹⁹ The deities Šittarzuna and Zappa are not sufficiently characterized. The Window (*luttai*^{GIŠ}AB-ya) and the Wood of the bolt (*ḫatalwaš taru*/GIŠ) were important elements connecting the inside with the outside of the temple and often received offerings in the regular cults.²⁰ The Years (MU^{HLA}) were symbolic representations of the years of the dynasty, kept in the *ḫešta*-house, under the protection of the gods of that temple.²¹

If the Fate-goddesses had the task of establishing the length of mortals’ lives and, therefore, were deities of life, also the other Hattic deities of the *ḫešta*-house acted in that fearful borderland that separates life from death. This border was represented by the Propitious Day (the day of one’s death). Zilipuri provided the hearth and the throne, the former representing the unity and continuity of the family and the latter, of royal

¹¹ The same list, ending with U.GUR, is also in ll. 60-62; see Haas – Wäfler 1976, 92 f. A parallel passage is KUB 41.27 V 1-4, with Zuppa(š) and MU.KAM^{HLA}. See further, KUB 58.69 I 12-17: Išduš[taya] ... P[apaya], see García Trabazo – Grodek 2005, 180.

¹² On Lelwani, see the monograph by Torri, 1999. Previous studies are: Otten, 1950; von Schuler, 1980–1983. See, further, Haas, 1994, 245; Klinger 1996, 167–169; Taracha 2009, 49 f. (on Lelwani’s circle).

¹³ Schuster 2002, 156 f.

¹⁴ Otten 1976–1980b.

¹⁵ In the Funerary ritual for the royal family, Izzištanu / UD.SIG₅ and taknaš UTU are the gods who receive more offerings, together with the Soul, ZI (Ištanana).

¹⁶ Yoshida 1991, 58–61.

¹⁷ Torri 1999, 11 f. 16.

¹⁸ Schuster 1974, 70 f.

¹⁹ Klinger 1996, 173.

²⁰ Archi 1966, 89–92; Popko 1978, 42–48.

²¹ Torri 1999, 22–27. Similarly, the hieroglyphic sign L.336 depicts the pithos (kept in several temples), where barley was kept at the harvest. In spring it was ground and used for making bread, symbolizing the continuity of the harvest from year to year, see Archi 1973.

power. The Sun-goddess of the Earth ensured a favourable journey to the afterlife. It was Lelwani, the deity to whom the *hešta*-house was dedicated, who established when an individual's life would end (which explains why she was linked to Išduštaya and Papaya).²² The queen Puduḥepa asks Lelwani to intercede with the other gods to grant long lives to her husband Ḫattusili and herself.²³ This same queen makes various vows to Lelwani for the life of his Majesty.²⁴ It is to Lelwani that one turns in order that the princess Gaššuliyawia may be cured.²⁵ According to the *Annals* of Tuḫaliya I, Lelwani (together with the principal gods) accompanied the king into battle. In the case of a trial, the palace officials had to swear to Lelwani that they had faithfully performed the tasks they had been assigned (KUB 13.35 I 6-7). Political treaties were also deposited in the temple of Lelwani, evidently because it was her task to put an end to those unfaithful to the pacts undertaken.²⁶

Although Išduštaya and Papaya are defined as *kattereš karuileš* “primeval goddesses of the netherworld” in the ritual KUB 29.1, they, together with Lelwani, must be distinguished from the *karuileš šiuneš*, *kattereš šiuneš*, Hurr. *enna durenna* “primeval gods,” and *enna ammatenna* “ancestor gods,” terms which qualify the primeval, inferior gods of Hurrian origin.²⁷ Of the gods of the *hešta*-house, only the Sun-goddess of the Earth (the Netherworld), taknaš UTU, found a correspondence with Ereškigal, the Sumerian “Queen of the Great Below,” and Hurr. Allani, that is the queen of the Netherworld.²⁸ The Fate-goddesses may be considered underworld gods, only because they determined precisely when an individual was to reach pass to the Netherworld.

1.2 Other contexts

- a) The two Hattic Fate-goddesses appear (so to say, for attraction) behind the Hittite Parcae, the Gulšeš, in the Telepinu Myth. “All the gods” are sitting in assembly under a hawthorn tree. Only the Fate-goddesses are mentioned by name, together with the Hittite goddesses of prosperity and the tutelary-deities involved in the ritual to which the myth is associated, KUB 17.10 III 30-32:

²² Torri 1999, 49–51.

²³ KUB 21.27(+) III 31-38: “You, Lelwani [my Lady], let the life of Ḫattušili, your servant, and of Puduḥepa, your servant, [come forth] from your mouth before the gods! ... If you, Lelwani, my lady, will speak favorably [to the gods] and will keep your servant, Ḫattusili, alive and grant him long years, months, days, I shall come ...”. See Lebrun 1980, 333 f.; Singer 2002, 104.

²⁴ Otten – Souček 1965, 16 f., I 2-4: “Der Göttin Lelwani, meiner Herrin, habe ich für das Leben der Person der Majestät (dieses) Gelübde abgelegt: ‘Wenn du, o Göttin, meine Herrin, die Majestät für lange Jahre bei Leben und Gesundheit erhältst...’”.

²⁵ KBo 4.6 (CTH 480); see Torri 1999, 41 f.

²⁶ See the passages quoted by Torri 1999, 59–61.

²⁷ Laroche 1974; Archi 1990.

²⁸ Torri 1999, 89–97.

“[Papapya], Ištuštaya, the Fate-goddesses (Gulšeš), Miyatanzipa, Telepinu, the Tutelary-god (Innar/KAL), Hapantali [and].”

This last list includes gods directly related to the inhabitants of the palace and their fate: Hearth, Hatt. Kuz(z)ana/išu, Hitt. Ḫašša; the celestial bodies: Moon, Star, and Night, which influence human beings; Ḫarištašši: connected with *ḫarištani*- “storeroom”,³⁵ Ḫilašši: the Genius of the courtyard; tepu pedan “Little Place” (perhaps a euphemism for the netherworld and/or the grave);³⁶ Tongue Fit; ... Separation (/ / ... Moment); Propitius Day (the day on which one dies).

- c) It is difficult to understand why Išduštaya and Papaya appear in a ritual concerning an oath for an army employed in the Hurrian lands, KUB 9.1 II 30. The king has to say secretly that he (a former Macbeth) had encountered the Fate-goddesses, II 1-9: “The king [recites] as follows: ‘[] took (3rd pl.) the king (acc.) and the lords (acc.) 1 *pālza*. I, the king, met the two goddesses: Papaya (and) [Išdu]štaya, and I camped’. The two (II^{TAM})³⁷ met he! [The king] whispe[rs] these words by night in the land of the town of Ḫimmuwa.”
- d) Papaya appears together with Kataḫzipuri (Hittite Kamrušepa), the Hattic goddess of magic, in KUB 56.17, an obscure text concerning the elimination of omens announced in an “unfavourable dream,” Û ḪUL.³⁸

2. The *Gulšeš*

2.1 The Hittite contexts

The verb *gulš-* means “to carve, engrave, mark, inscribe, write.” The thematic noun ^D*Gulša-* appears as personified theonym (in general plural): “Fate-goddesses.” The Luwian forms are ^D*Gulza-*, ^D*Gulzanzipa-*; Palaic ^D*Gulzan(n)ika-*.³⁹ The idea that the “lot, fate” (cfr. Gk. *moîra*) was “marked, engraved” for every individual from his very birth was, therefore, common amongst Anatolian peoples of Indo-European language

³⁵ Haas 1994, 261, note 74.

³⁶ *CHD P*, 339 f.

³⁷ Here, better than “twice”.

³⁸ Klengel 1988.

³⁹ Carruba 1966, 34–37, has demonstrated that this verb and divine name are written phonetically (not ideographically). For the verb *gulš-*, see Oettinger 1979, 203 f.; in general, *HED K*, 239–244. For the Luwian data, Melchert 1993, 107 f.; Starke 1990, 462–464 and Melchert 2003, 284. For Palaic ^D*Gulzan(n)ikas*, ^D*Gulzan(n)ikeš*, see Carruba 1972, 27, and the list in van Gessel 1998, 255. For *Gulšaš* in the festival of Zaparwa (in Hittite), see KBo 13.217 V 16, 20.

The list of gods in the Palaic ritual KUB 35.165 Rs. 13–18 has, beside the *Gulzannikeš*, a list of Hattic and Palaic-Hittite gods: Kataḫzipuri, Ilaliyantikeš, Ḫašamili, Kamama, Ḫilanzipa, *Gulzannikeš*, Uliliantikeš, see Carruba 1970, 19.

and this undoubtedly predates the introduction of writing. The earliest attestations of this root are given by the personal names Kulšata, Kulziya(r) of the Old Assyrian period.⁴⁰ The act of counting, incising a sign for every unit of measurement, is described in a myth, KUB 33.118, 5-6: UD.KAM^{HIA}-uš kap[puwaizzi IT]U.KAM^{HIA}gulaškiz[zi] “(Mount Wašitta) counts the days, keeps incised the months.” It is possible that, with the spread of writing in certain spheres, the custom of *writing* the fate was attributed to the Gulšeš: GIŠ(HUR)gulzattar, derived from gulš-, means “inscribed wooden tablet.”⁴¹

The vocabulary KBo 13.2 rev. 2 has: [nam-tar = šīmta šāmu] = gulšaš gulšuwa[r] “determine the fate” (CHD L-N, 44 s.v. lappiya-).^(D)Gulšaš was the translation for Akk. šīmtu “fate”. The Akkadian *Wisdom of Uruk* is known from the archives of Ugarit, Emar and Hattuša, where it received a Hittite translation; Il. 145-147: a-[na u₄]-mi [ši-ma]-ti-ka (dupl.: a-na u)m-me ša-a šim-ma-ti-ka) 9 KURUM₆^{MEŠ} ŠID-nu-m[a mu-t]a-a-nu [re-š]u-uk-ka “(Le grenier de ta maison, sur toute [l’étendue] de sa [p]ièce, est rempli de grain;) au jour de ta mo[rt] on comptera (seulement) neuf rations: c’est l’épidémie que tu auras pour capital!”⁴² The Hittite version, misunderstanding this passage, translates rēšu literally with “head,” KBo 12.70 Vs. 39-42: GIM-an-ma-ta^DGul-ša-aš UD.KAM-uš ti-an-zi nu 9-an a-ra-li-i-en kap-pu-u-wa-a-an-zi na-an-ta ki-it-kar-za zi-ik-kán-zi “lorsque les Parques fixent l’avenir (/ les jours), elles comptent neuf arali, et le portent à ta tête.”⁴³

In the KIN oracles (belonging to the Hittite tradition), the tokens called^DGulšaš minumar /^DNAM minumar “favour of Fate” may alternate in the same text.⁴⁴ There are “unfavourable / well-being Gulšaš,” KUB 58.108 I 5, 8, IV 8: idaluš^DGulšaš, IV 10, 13: :ušantariš^DGulšaš. KUB 23.85, 5-6: “You, Tattamaru, had married the daughter of my sister, (but) then the Gulšeš treated you badly, and she died on you.”⁴⁵ KUB 43.72 II 11: ^DGulšaš idālu gulaššuwar “bad decree of the Fate-goddesses.”

Although the following ritual for Tuthaliya III presents certain elements from Kizzuwatna (and perhaps some others taken from a Babylonian ritual), the passage with the Gulšeš and the Mother-goddesses (DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ}) presents the usual Hittite formulae, KUB 43.55 II 11-21 (dupl. KUB 58.101 Vs. 1-19):⁴⁶

“In regard to this matter we have just now summoned as witnesses the [... Mo]ther-goddesses and the Fate-goddesses. [And i]f a man is at any time born, [then] as the

⁴⁰ Laroche 1966, 97.

⁴¹ The attributes of the Roman Parcae are not only the implements for weaving, as for the Moirai, but also the *volumen*, where they fixed the fate in writing.

⁴² Translation by Arnaud 2007, 148–179, who has provided a recent edition of the text.

⁴³ Laroche 1968, 782.

⁴⁴ This fact has been noted by Laroche 1948, 125. For *minumar* in connection with other terms as a token of the KIN oracles, see Archi 1974, 135.

⁴⁵ Hagenbuchner 1989, 2. 15.

⁴⁶ Haas 1988, 87–91; Taracha 2000, 58–61. The translation is that of Beckman 1983, 245. A similar invocation to the Fate-goddesses is KUB 55.42 4-8.

Fate-goddesses and the Mother-goddesses on that day designate well-being (*aššul*) for him – this is the day! May you Fate-goddesses and Mother-goddesses designate (*gulašten*) life, [...] strength, long years, [future li]fe, success, love of gods and human beings ... for the king (and) queen.”

The Fate-goddesses, active at the moment of birth, follow man throughout his entire life. The middle Hittite ritual of *Ḫantitaššu* (“the woman of *Ḫurma*,” CTH 395), was performed “if the years are disturbed (*nininkanteš*) for a man or a woman,” and addressed not only to the Sun-god, but also to the *Gulšeš*, KBo 11.14 I 16, II 36 (the “words of the goddess *Kamrušepa*” are also mentioned in II 25).

The *Gulšeš*, generally associated with *DINGIR.MAḪ*, that is *Ḫannaḫanna*, or the *DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}* (as well as the *Darawa*, *Darawaeš*, Luw. *Darawanzi*),⁴⁷ are deities in charge of well-being. They appear together with *Telepinu* and *Ḫašamili*, of Hattic origin, and play an important role as tutelary deities in the (Hattic-)Hittite cults. The *Gulšeš* and *DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}* appear in the birth ritual KBo 24.6 Vs. 3.⁴⁸ The *Telepinu Myth*, KUB 17.10 III 30-32, mentions: “[*Papapy*], *Ištuštaya*, the Fate-goddesses (*Gulšeš*), *Miyatanzipa*, *Telepinu*, the Tutelary-god (*Innar/KAL*), *Ḫapantali* [and ...].” The pantheon of the city of *Karaḫna*, KUB 25.32(+) (a late manuscript) I 4-19, lists: several tutelary gods of nature (*KAL*), the Storm-god of the army, *U.GUR*, *ZA.BA₄.BA₄*, *Pirwa*, *Aškašipa*, [*MUNUS.LUGAL*], *Ḫalki*, *Telipinu*, Moon-god, *Antaliya* (a local deity), *Immarniza*, *MAḪ*, *Gulšeš*, *Ḫašamili*.⁴⁹

DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES} and *Gulšeš* are also associated with each other in other myths of Hittite tradition. VBoT 58 (*Disappearance of the Sun-god*) I 32-34: “[Go,] call the Fate-goddess (^D*Gulaššan*) and *Ḫannaḫanna* (*DINGIR.MAḪ*). If those (other gods) have died, [then] these too (who assure the future of the land) may have died. [Did] *Frost* (*Ḫaḫḫi-ma*) [come] to their gate too?” KUB 33.24 (*Disappearance of the Storm-god*) I 37-38: “The Storm-god's father went to the Fate-goddess and *Ḫannaḫanna* ...”⁵⁰

They appear together in some rituals, such as that dictated by *Pupuwanni*, KUB 7.2 (CTH 408) I 15-16 and KUB 41.3(+) I 20: Storm-god, Sun-god, Tutelary-god of nature (*Innar*), *Gulšeš*, *Darawaeš*.⁵¹ KUB 15.31 is an evocation of “the *DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}* and the *Gulšeš*, (i.e.) the *DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}* and the *Gulšeš* of the gods and of the persons of the human beings, (and) *Zukki* (with) *Anzili*” (I 1-2, 36-37, II 4-5).⁵²

⁴⁷ Carruba 1966, 30 note 48, suggested identifying the *DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}* with the *Darawaeš* (for the sequence *Gulšeš* - *Darawa*, see, e. g., KBo 30.124 Rs. 1, 12). This is not possible because of passages such as KUB 35.84 II 9: *Gulšeš DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES} Darawaeš*; KBo 24.101 Rs. 6: *DINGIR.MAḪ Gulšeš Tarawa*.

⁴⁸ Beckman 1983, 224 f. See also KBo 30.4 III 7-8.

⁴⁹ Dinçol – Darga 1969–1970, 100 f. See, further, the passages from KBo 4.13(+) quoted above, 1.2.

⁵⁰ See Hoffner 1990, 21. 27.

⁵¹ Bawanypeck 2005, 277 f. 286.

⁵² Haas – Wilhelm 1974, 148–155 (with the duplicate KUB 15.32). Another evocation of the *Gulšeš*, *DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}* and *Darawaeš*, KUB 35.84, belongs to the Luwian milieu. See also the catalogue

In the annual festival for the goddess *Ḫuwaššanna* of *Ḫupišna* (cl. *Kybistra*) (with Luwian elements), KBo 20.72(+) (and parallel texts; CTH 694), *Ḫarištašši*, together with the *Gulšeš* and UD.SIG₅ “Propitious Day”, appear regularly besides *Ḫuwaššanna*, the Storm-god and the War-god ZA.BA₄.BA₄ (KBo 20.72(+) II 7, III 12-13, *et passim*; KBo 20.48 Rs.⁷ 14-16; KBo 20.51 I 8). *Ḫarištašši* is a god of the house and the family. In KUB 12.5 I 14-15, the queen “drinks” *Ḫarištašši*, the bed and the couch (*nathi*, *namulli*).⁵³ In this ritual, therefore, *Ḫuwaššanna* (a deity whose functions are those of a mother-goddess), has beside her: 1) the tutelary god of the place where a woman who has just given birth and her newborn child lie, together with bed and couch; 2) the Fate-goddesses; 3) the God of the Day on which one dies. These three are the tutelary gods of the crucial moments in a person’s life: birth, determination of one’s fate, and death.⁵⁴

The Fate-goddess and the Mother-goddess of a living or deceased person could acquire their own, particular individuality. The cult inventory KUB 48.114 I 5-10 has: ^D*Gulšaš* DINGIR.MAḪ-aš-a ŠA DUMU.NITA AMA-ŠU *Ḫannaš ḫuḫḫaš* “Fate-goddess and Mother-goddess of the son of his mother, (his) grandmother, grandfather;” ^D*Gulšaš* DINGIR.MAḪ-aš ŠA DAM ¹*Šaḫurunuwa* “... of *Šaḫurunuwa*’s wife;” ^D*Gulšaš* DINGIR.MAḪ-aš ŠA ¹*Tuḫa*liya LUGAL Û ŠA [“... of *Tuḫa*liya, the king and of [his ...].”⁵⁵

It is the singer of *Kaneš* who sings (in Hittite) for the *Gulšeš* of the river bank (*wappuwaš*) [and the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}], KUB 9.21, 6-8 (in ll. 3-5, 9-10, also the Tutelary-god of the river and the Gods of the river receive offerings).⁵⁶ The ritual of *Tunnawiya*, KUB 7.53 + 12.58 (CTH 409), of Hittite-Luwian tradition, explains why rituals took place at the river bank.⁵⁷ Water purifies and the clay of the river is uncontaminated. This same clay is essential to the rite as it was used to shape the “evil tongues”, the destruction of which eliminated evil spells. In I 27-51 the Old Woman goes to the river bank, offers to *Ḫannaḫanna* (^DMAḪ), and recites: “Here, *Ḫannaḫanna* of the river bank, I have come back to you. And you, *Ḫannaḫanna* from which river

KUB 30.56 III 4: “When they draw the Mother-goddesses of the person (NÍ.TE-aš DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}) from the road,” Dardano 2006, 212. “*Ḫannaḫanna* of the person of the queen,” DINGIR.MAḪ ŠA NÍ.TE MUNUS.LUGAL, is mentioned in Bo 5048 I 17, see de Roos 2007, 256.

⁵³ Otten 1972–1975.

⁵⁴ Lombardi 1999, see in particular 225–229. KUB 51.30 Vs. 6-9 lists offerings for the Hearth, the Throne (^DDAG-ti), the Window for the *Gulaššeš* (^{GIS}AB-ya ^D*Gul-aš-ša-aš*), the Inner Chamber for *Ḫarištašši* (É.ŠA-ni ^D*Ḫa-re-eš-ta-ši*). *Ḫarištašši* is mentioned in KUB 32.87 + KBo 23.72 + KBo 39.137 + KBo 43.154 Vs. 35-39 (a fragmentary passage) after the Mother-goddesses and the Fate-goddesses.

⁵⁵ See also DINGIR.MAḪ^{MUNUS} AMA ^DUTU^{ŠI} “(offerings to) *Ḫannaḫanna* of His Majesty’s mother; DINGIR.MAḪ MUNUS.LUGAL-aš “*Ḫannaḫanna* of the queen,” KBo 23.72(+) Vs. 12, Rs. 30.

⁵⁶ McMahon 1991, 190 f. In KUB 44.12 VI 5-6, the singer sings for this goddess in Hattic, which is anomalous.

⁵⁷ The text has been studied by Goetze 1938; the attribution of this ritual to the Hittite-Luwian tradition has been reasserted by Miller 2004, 452–461.

bank this clay is taken, take (it) in your hand, and cleanse this sacrificer with it; purify the twelve parts of his body.” After some other offerings, she says: “Just as you, O spring, keep gushing up silt back up from the dark earth, in the same way remove evil uncleanness from the limbs of this person, the sacrificer.” Then, the Old Woman brings there the clay of the river bank (and) the clay of the spring. She shapes two clay figures, twelve clay tongues, two clay oxen, etc.⁵⁸

2.2 Rituals with Hurrian elements

In the first tablet of the ritual of Allaituraḫi, the Old Woman of Mukiš, we find a similar situation, but this time addressed to the Gulšeš instead of Ḫannaḫanna (KUB 17.27 II 4-38). The Old Woman uses first the clay for some magic actions. Then, she goes back to the river bank and offers to the Fate-goddesses of the river bank, saying:

“Eat, Fate-goddesses of the river bank (*wappuwaš*). If the wicked sorcerer gave the image of this man either to the river bank or to the current of the river, give it back to him!”⁵⁹

The purifying properties of the water and the silt washed by the currents of the river are of universal significance. The elimination of evil spells through the destruction of the clay tongues and figurines which represent them in tangible form are common to Hittite magic. Such practices cannot be attributed to foreign influence, even though Allaituraḫi came from a markedly Hurrianized sphere. We cannot exclude the possibility that the ritual (of the late period) was extensively reformulated at Ḫattuša.

The Fate-goddesses of the river bank and the Mother-goddesses (DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ}) are also associated with each other in a fragmentary ritual, Bo 3617. There is first the simile of the prolific pig (I 4-5), typical of Hittite tradition. There then follows the account of the separation of earth and sky, with the gods dividing between those who inhabit Heaven and those of the Netherworld. This is a mythology of Mesopotamian tradition, borrowed through the Hurrians.⁶⁰ The sacrificer says on the river bank:

⁵⁸ The analogy between the work of magicians and potters is expressed in the ritual of Iriya, the LÚḪAL, KUB 30.35 + 39.104 (CTH 400) I 6-9: “And exactly where the potters use to take [the clay] of the river bank, you will go there, and you will say to the river bank (*nu kuwapi wappuw[aš IM LÚ]^{MEŠ}BÁḪAR imma daškanzi*): ‘O my river bank, [why] I came (to) it; why I took (this) trouble (*dariyahhun*)?’”, see Gurney, 1937.

⁵⁹ Haas 2007, 15. 26.

⁶⁰ The text (and its duplicates) has been published and studied by Otten – Siegelová 1970, who pointed to the Mesopotamian origin of this theme. Notice that this theme is found also in the myth *Kingship in Heaven*, where some gods “went down to the Dark Earth,” see Hoffner 1990, 40.

“When they took Heaven and Earth, the gods split up; the upper gods took Heaven, but the lower gods took Earth and the Netherworld. Everyone took its own. You, O river, took for yourself purification, life of progeny, and procreative power(?). Now, because (someone) says to someone else: it is terrible, (then) he goes back to you, O river, and to the Fate-goddesses and Mother-goddesses of the river bank, who create man.”⁶¹

In this passage, *šamnai-*, *šamniya-* “to create” refers to creation from clay, a well known image in both Sumerian and Babylonian myths, an analogy with the work of potters and sculptors.⁶² The basic meaning of the verb seems to be: “to found, to implant.” The verb is used in the *Kumarbi myths* (Kumarbi, the Mother-goddesses “created DN”), and in *Gilgameš*. The *Prayer of Kantuzzili* (for which Babylonian material was at disposal) has: “O my god, you have made me (*iyaš*), you have created (*šamnāeš*) me.” This verb expresses also the creation of artifacts by smiths, i. e. “to forge” (*HCD* s. v.).

In KUB 58.108 IV 5-10, the verb *šamniya-* is again referred to the well-being, pro-creating, (*:ušantāra(i)-*) Gulšeš: “He/She sacrifices one fattened *ušantari*-sheep to the Gulšeš ... The Old Woman says: ‘I have removed [from ...] the evil Gulša. [Whom] the *ušantari* Gulša has created, I, the *ušantari* Gulša have bound back...”⁶³

The idea that mankind was shaped from clay occurs also in a ritual for the evocation of the Underworld gods, KUB 7.41 (and duplicates; CTH 446) of clear Hurrian origin,⁶⁴ I 39-48: “He goes to the river bank ... He speaks as follows: ‘I, a human being, have now come! As Ḫannaḫanna takes children from the river bank (DINGIR.MAḪ DUMU-*tar wappui*⁶⁵ *daškizzi*), I too, a human being, have come to the river bank to summon the Primeval (*karuiliēš*) gods ... Aduntarri the diviner, Zulki the dream interpreter... (gods belonging to the well-known Hurrian *enna turena*).”⁶⁶

Analysis of these rituals shows that Ḫannaḫanna and all the Mother-goddesses, together with the Gulšeš, were connected in Hittite magic with the river banks. Here the “evil tongues” were modeled, images of the sacrificer(s) and of the ones responsible for the witchcraft, to then proceed with the elimination of the evil spells. The Hurrian magic attributes to these goddesses the act of creating mankind, shaping man from clay, a concept that goes back to the Sumerians.

⁶¹ The *wappuāš* DINGIR.MAḪ(^{MEŠ}) are mentioned in several rituals, see, e. g., KBo 11.17 II 6; KBo 13.210 Rs. 2, 9.

⁶² Frymer-Kensky 1987, 129–131.

⁶³ See Otten – Siegelová 1970, 33 f., where *:ušantār(a)i-* is also discussed; *CHD* Š, 125b.

⁶⁴ The document has been studied by Otten 1961. Recent translations of this complex ritual have been given by Collins 1997 and Miller 2008.

⁶⁵ This is a “dative of disadvantage.”

⁶⁶ On the Primeval Hurrian god, in this ritual called also Anunnakū, see the studies quoted above in note 27. Further literature in Taracha 2009, 126 note 710.

2.3 Contexts of Hurrian origin

The Hittite versions of the Hurrian myths translate (when possible) the personal names of the gods: Tarḫuna (nom. ^DU-*aš*) for the Storm-god Teššup, Ištanu (nom. ^DUTU-*uš*) for the Sun-god Šimigi; similarly, in the Classical Age, an educated person used Jupiter in Latin and Zeus in Greek. The names of the Hurrian Fate-goddesses Ḫutena and Ḫutellura were translated with Gulšeš and DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES/HIA}. The Hurrian fragment KUB 45.61 tells of Ullikummi's birth, according to the analysis by Mauro Giorgieri. The Hittite version of *Ullikummi* has: "The Fate-goddesses (Gulšuš) and the Mo[ther-goddesses lifted / took the child and] they placed him on Kumarbi's knees." The Hurrian passage, KUB 45.61 II 5-6, may be translated as follows: "The goddesses Ḫutena [and Ḫutellura] brought him (i. e. the child) to his (i.e. Teššub) lap, holding him."⁶⁷

The Gulšeš and DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES} are found also in *Ḫedammu*, see fragments nos. 18, 11 and 19, 7,⁶⁸ in *Gilgameš*, KUB 8.59, 89: "The Sea cursed Gilgameš, [...] and the Fate-goddesses;" in *Gurparanzaḫ*, KUB 17.9 I 36-38: "(The river Aranzaḫ) went by DINGIR.MAḪ. The Fate-goddesses saw the river Aranzaḫ; [to eat] and to drink they gave [to him]."⁶⁹

The Gulšeš and DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES} of the "circle (*kaluti-*) of Ḫebat" mentioned in texts related to the cult of Tešub and Ḫebat of Aleppo, and those of other Hurrian cults introduced into Ḫattuša, are actually the goddesses Ḫutena and Ḫutellura. KBo 27.191 (CTH 787) I 1-5: Dakidu, Gulšaš DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}, Išḫara. KUB 20.59 (CTH 616: 29th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, for Ea and his circle) VI 14-16 (dupl. KBo 9.140 III 14-16): DINGIR.MAḪ Gulšeš, Izzummi (vizier of Ea) Kalli; KUB 20.59 III 5-7:] Ea, Damkina, [...], Fate-goddesses, Izzummi.

Ritual of the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI (CTH 500), KBo 24.71, 4: NIN.É.GAL, A.A, Gulšaš DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}. Ritual of Ammiḫatna (CTH 471), KBo 5.2 III 7-12: Ḫepat, Išḫara, Allani, Nikkallu, *IŠTAR*, Gulšaš DINGIR.MAḪ. Ritual of Palliya (CTH 475), KBo 44.98 + 35.198 (+) 15.43 (CTH 475) II 14-15: Ḫalki (= Dagan), Ea, Ḫutena Ḫutellura; III 14: ŠA ^DU ^DGulaššaš DINGIR.MAḪ^{HIA}-*aš*.⁷⁰ Substitution ritual, KUB 17.14(+) (CTH 421) Vs.¹ 8-17: "(several Storm-gods) Šeri and Ḫurri, Sun-goddess of Arinna, Ḫebat, Šarruma, Ḫaddašši, Enlil, Ninlil, Moon-god, Ningal, Ea, Damkina, Tutelary god (of) Ḫuwaššanna, Tutelary-god of the hunting bag, Zithariya, DINGIR.GAL, Šanda, the gods of my body, the gods of my person, the Fate-goddesses, the Mother-goddesses, the gods of the land, the gods of the city, Mountains, Rivers..."⁷¹

⁶⁷ Giorgieri 2001, 137–141. For an edition of KUB 45.61 see Salvini – Wegner 2004, 41 f. (no. 9). The Hittite passage of *Ullikummi* is manuscript A III 11-12, see Güterbock 1952, 152 f.

⁶⁸ Siegelová 1971, 62 f.

⁶⁹ Pecchioli 2003, 484–486.

⁷⁰ Groddek 2004, 74–76.

⁷¹ Kümmel 1967, 60 f. See, further, KUB 9.28 I 3-9, in note 32 above.

3. The Hurrian *Ḫutena* and *Ḫutellura* and the West-Semitic *Kotharāt*

Emmanuel Laroche analyzed the name *Ḫutellura* as *ḫute-ll-ur^o-na*: plural (-*na*), comitative (-*ra*-); *Ḫutena* as a nominal form, deriving both from the verb *ḫut(e/i)*. From their equivalent *Gulšeš*, and the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ}, he deduced that they were female divinities, and suggested the meaning “to favour” for the verb, in agreement with passages in the Mittani letter. The goddesses who determined one’s fate were seen as benevolent entities, auguring well.⁷² *Ḫutena* is “She of favouring:” *ḫud=we=na*.⁷³ In the Hurrian birth ritual KBo 27.1, 10 (= *ChS* I/5, no 98): ^{MUNUS}*Ši-in-ti-ma-a-ni ḫu-ti-il-lu-r[i]*, *ḫutilluri* means “midwife”, being apposition of the personal name *Šindimani*.⁷⁴

Ḫutena and *Ḫutellura* belong to the circle of *Ḫebat*, as it was established at Aleppo. Some manuscripts have the list (A) (here below),⁷⁵ (B) gives the sequence of the goddesses according to the manuscripts concerning the festival of *Teššub* and *Ḫebat* of *Ḫalab* celebrated at *Ḫattuša* (KBo 14.142 I 20-28, dpl. KUB 27.13 I 13-18, CTH 698). (C) is the *ordo* received at Ugarit⁷⁶:

A	B	C
Ḫebat	Ḫebat (Ḫalap)	1. Hebat
	Ḫebat ḫalziyauwaš	2. Išhara
Ḫebat Šarruma	Šarruma Allanza	3. Allani
Ḫebat muš(u)ni	Ḫebat mušni	4. Ḫutena Ḫutellura
	Ḫebat ḫalziyauwaš	5. Ninatta Kulitta
	Ḫebat Allanzu	6. Dakit
Ḫebat kunzišalli	Ḫebat kunzišalli	7. Nikkal
Darru Dakidu	Takitum	
Ḫutena Ḫutellura	Gulšeš DINGIR.MAH ^{MEŠ}	
Išhara	Išhara	
Allani	Allani	
Umbu	Nikkal	
Ištar Ninatta Kulitta	Ištar Ninatta Kulitta	
...	...	

⁷² Laroche 1948, 124–126. Salvini 1988, 169 f., has suggested the meaning: “to praise.”

⁷³ Haas 1994, 309.

⁷⁴ This has been noted by Haas 1994, 483 with note 131.

⁷⁵ This is the list presented by Laroche 1948, 121–124.

⁷⁶ Laroche 1968, 519. This list is according to the texts RS. 24.295, AO 17.269 (CTA 172), AO 25.167 (CTA 173). RS. 24.261 adds Adamma Kubaba.

The festival for Teššub and Ḫebat of Lawazantiya (CTH 699), KBo 21.34 III 58-63, has: Ḫebat - Ḫebat Šarruma - Dakidu - Ḫutena Ḫutellura - *attaš* DINGIR^{MES} DINGIR.MUNUS^{MES} *keldiya*.

The “Ugaritic pantheon” (RS. 1.17; RS. 24.264 + 280) has: several Ba‘al’s - Earth and Heaven - *ktrt* (Kotharāt) - Yarah (the Moon). The *ktrt* are translated ^d*Sa-sú-ra-tum* in the Akkadian version (RS. 20.24) of this pantheon. A comparison with the Hurrian god-lists from Ugarit show that these goddesses were equivalent to Ḫutena - Ḫutellura.⁷⁷ The Ugaritic-Akkadian equivalence explains the functions attributed to these goddesses. Akk. *šassūru* is a Sumerian loanword, which means “womb.” The Sumerian and Akkadian Mother-goddess were assisted by seven assistants called “wombs,” the Šassūrātu, who, because of their Ugaritic equivalence, have to be identified with Birth-goddesses.⁷⁸ There were seven Kotharāt; they appear in the *Aqhat epos* as goddesses of conception and pregnancy (KTU 1.17 II 26-40); in the *Myth of the Marriage of Yarah and Nikkal* they are invoked as “daughters of the Star (*hll*), swallows” KTU 1.24, 4-42).⁷⁹ *ktr* means “wise, cunning,” Kothar (from the same root) is the god of magic and technique. The name Kotharāt therefore fits well the tutelary goddesses of pregnancy and birth. This name is derived from **kšr* “to be skilled, to achieve,” a root attested to not only in West-Semitic but also in Akkadian. The cult of the Kotharāt was diffused in the Middle Euphrates region from the beginning of the 2nd millennium. An older version of an offering list from Mari (preceding the “Babylonization” of the local scribal school) presents already the equivalence between the East- and West-Semitic birth goddesses, ll. 7-8: ^d*Sin-zu-ru-um* ^d*Kà-ma-šu-ra-tum* (*kawašurātum*); the later version, ll. 11-12, has: ^d*Ša-zu-[ru-um]* ^d*Ku-ša-[ra-tum]* (*kūšarātum*).⁸⁰ Emar VI/3, 378 II 18 has: dingir^{mes} *ka-ša-ra-ti ša i-ši-ḫi*.⁸¹

Ḫutena and Ḫutellura, according to the Hurrian version of *Ullikummi* (and also the *Gulšeš* together with the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}), when they are the translation of Ḫutena and Ḫutellura in the Hittite version of *Ullikummi*, *Hedammu* and the other literary texts of Hurrian origin) were goddesses of birth, like the Kotharāt in the Ugaritic documentation.⁸²

It is probably that the Hurrians settled in Syria modelled their Birth-goddesses on the Akkadian and Syrian ones. Proof is that *ḫutilluri* is the apposition to Šindimani in a

⁷⁷ For the Akkadian version, see Nougayrol 1968, 44 f. Since the different sources, in three different languages and writings, are organized in a rather “unfriendly” way in *Ugaritica* V, it is useful to use the tables in Dietrich – Loretz 1988, 300–305; del Olmo Lete 2008, 43.

⁷⁸ Stol 2000, 80–83.

⁷⁹ For the names of the seven Kotharat and a translation of Yarah and Nikkal, see del Olmo Lete 2008, 34 and 94 f. For the Kotharat in general, see Pardee 1995, who quotes ^d*Hu-le-e-li*, in Emar VI/3, 368 73, Arnaud 1986, 328, in relation to Ugaritic *hll*.

⁸⁰ The two lists, originally published by Georges Dossin, have been reinterpreted by Lambert 1985, 529 f. (who quotes in note 8a, ^d*Ka-ma-šu-[ra-]tum*, CT 25,30, 13); see, further, Durand 2008, 198 f.

⁸¹ Arnaud 1986, 372.

⁸² In the birth rituals of Hittite tradition only the DINGIR.MAḪ^(MES) usually assisted at the birth; the *Gulšeš* appear only in one ritual, see the list of gods in Beckman 1983, 323.

Hurrian birth ritual KBo 27.1 (= *ChS* I/5, no 98 l. 10: ^{MUNUS}Ši-in-ti-ma-a-ni ħu-ti-il-lu-r[i], mentioned above) with the meaning of “midwife”. As Volkert Haas has remarked, the first element of Šindimani is *šind(i)* “seven,” showing that the Ħutena - Ħutellura goddesses were a heptad, as well as the West-Semitic Kotharāt.⁸³

4. Concluding remarks

The study of religious beliefs, particularly those of an ancient civilisation, enables us to identify certain deeply-rooted aspects of a culture. The case of the Fate-goddesses is a good example through which we can understand how the Hittite pantheon was gradually formed.

- a) For the Hittites (and the other Anatolian populations of the 2nd millennium who used an Indo-European language) Fate was not “what has been said,” Latin *fātum*. It was “what has been marked, engraved,” *gulš-*, for each individual. This idea is in some way similar to Greek *moīra* “lot” (Latin has *mereo* “to merit” from the same root).

The idea that thread may metaphorically represent life, attested to by a Hittite ritual, was not an Indo-European heritage, as for the Greek, Latin and North-European cultures. This came, instead, from the Hattians, who settled in Central Anatolia before the Hittites.

This reduces the chance of shared Indo-European traditions being documented by the Hittites.

The years may be weighed (as Zeus did with the destiny of the humans, Hom. *Il.* 22, 209-212), KBo 21.22 Vs. 18-20: *kāša GIŠ.ÉRIN karpiyemi nu Labarnaš taluqauš MU^{HLA}-uš ušneškimi kāša GIŠ.ÉRIN karpiyemi n-ašta* ^{MUNUS}*Tawanannaš taluqauš MU^{HLA}-uš ušneškimi* “Lo, I pick up a scale and put up for weighing the long years of Labarna; lo, I pick up a scale and put up for weighing the long years of Tawananna” (*HED K*, 92). The action of weighing had the meaning of proving and reaffirming the value of goods, as in KUB 24.12 III 4-25, where precious goods put on a scale are offered to a deity in substitution because of the king’s health (Taracha 2000, 90–93).

- b) Išdustaya and Papaya were the Hattic Fate-goddesses. A Hittite ritual (with Hattic background) presents the two goddesses creating the thread of fate. They were the “infernal (i.e. belonging to the Netherworld) primeval goddesses, the *daughter-in-laws* (perhaps because related to Lelwani),” *katterreš karūelēš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *kūšeš*. They belonged to that group of Hattic gods for which an-

⁸³ Haas 1994, 372 f.

cient and complex rituals were performed to celebrate the new year, to favour the *rebirth* of nature. One of the symbolically most important acts was the substitution of the “Old Year” and the “hunting bag,” ^{KUS} *kursa-* (a kind of cornucopia), with the “New Year” and a new “hunting bag.”

Išdustaya and Papaya appear in only a few other documents. The Hittite ritual which included the narration of the *Telepinu Myth* (a Middle Hittite redaction with the mythologem of the disappearing god, probably of Hattic origin) lists these goddesses beside the Hittite deities of prosperity and Fate-goddesses: the Gulšeš. This is a cumulative process: no god with this kind of role or tasks was to be absent. The important festival KBo 4.13(+) (CTH 625), celebrated at Hattuša is, instead, a late redaction which includes god-lists of different periods and traditions. Išdustaya and Papaya (together with the Hattic dyad Tašammat and Tašimmet) are included in the first section representing a cosmogonic order with Hurrian traits.

The attribute “primeval,” *karuili-*, “perhaps literally ‘at dawn,’ and thus ‘primordially,’”⁸⁴ is well-suited to the Fate-goddesses. The formula *kattereš šiuneš* (DINGIR^{MEŠ}) “inferior, infernal” also qualifies the earlier gods who live in Earth, *tagnaš šiuneš*, as opposed to “the gods of Heaven,” according to the Hurrian pantheon. Here, the influence of the Babylonian culture (the Anunnakū, A.NU(N).NA.KE₄) is clear. The Hattic-Hittite “inferior” gods did not belong instead to an older generation but made up the lower section of a system that made an inner distinction between “gods of Heaven and gods of Earth (the Netherworld).”⁸⁵

It is well-known that the Hittite dynasty assimilated the gods and festivals of the preceding Hattic rulers when the capital was moved to Hattuša. The Hattic Sun-goddess Eštan (Hittite Ištanu), called also Arinnit(i/u) “she of Arinna” from her major cult-place, and Wurunšemu “Mother(?) of the Earth,” became the major deity of the pantheon. The Storm-god Taru was assimilated to the corresponding Hittite god, Tarḫuna, Luwian Tarḫunt(a) “the Mighty.” Minor deities, such as Išdustaya and Papaya, survived in the Hattic cults relating to kingship and the exercise of power. For daily requirements, instead, the other gods were called upon: those of Hittite tradition like the Gulšeš.

Išdustaya and Papaya were not assimilated with the Gulšeš as they were strongly characterised by their specific, original cults. Lelwani too, the first deity of the pantheon of the *hešta*-house, maintained her individual nature and was not assimilated with any Hittite-Hurrian deity. The Hurrian goddess of the Netherworld, “the Bolt of the Earth,” was Allani, whose name was expressed also

⁸⁴ *HED K*, 114.

⁸⁵ Laroche 1974; Archi 1990. For the Hurrian *karuileš* deities to be drawn from Earth, see, e. g., KUB 7.41 I 45-52, see Otten 1961, 120; KBo 17.94 III 27-28, see Haas – Wegner 1988, 354 (no. 77). The Gulšaš received also the epithet *karuiliš*, KBo 20.82 II 3, 29 (CTH 434).

with the Sumerogram EREŠ.KI.GAL. For this reason, the Hittites chose *ALLATUM* (an Akkadian derivative from Hurrian *allai* “lady,” used in Syria and transmitted also to Babylonia) as the allogram for Lelwani. Some god lists have both Lelwani/*ALLATUM* and Allani/EREŠ.KI.GAL, showing that they were two different goddesses.⁸⁶

- c) The Hittite *Gulšeš* determined each individual’s fate from the moment of birth and, consequently, were often associated with *Ḫannaḫanna* and the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}, the Mother-goddess(es), who helped women in labour. In Hittite society, these two groups of goddesses belonged to the private sphere. A passage in the birth ritual KUB 30.29 is significant on this point: “To the gods the allotments are given. The Sun-goddess in Arinna has seated herself, and (the Throne-goddess) *Ḫalmašuit* in *Ḫarpiša* likewise, ... KAL in *Karaḫna* likewise, the awesome *Telepinu* in *Tawiniya* likewise, ... But *Ḫannaḫanna* there did not remain a place; so for her, mankind remained (as) a place” (Vs. 9-15). *Gulšeš* and Mother-goddess(es) were close to the needs of the family and the individual; therefore, they appear in rituals more frequently than other gods of the official cult.

This Mother-goddess (often in the plural) was not a continuation of the Anatolian “Great Mother”: a concept constructed by J. J. Bachofen and which has enjoyed great success but which finds no justification in the documentation. The relationship earth-mother-fecundity, so widespread in ancient cultures, never produced a Great Goddess in the Mediterranean or Near East which can be historically identified. The maternal archetype, which is a “primordial image” of the psyche according to Carl Gustav Jung, gave origin to several divine representations, with different rank in each pantheon.

- d) *Ḫutena* and *Ḫutellura* are two groups of goddesses who derive their name from the verb *ḫut(e/i)* “to favour.” The Ugaritic lists equate them with the seven *Kotharāt* “the Skilled” (Akk. *Šassūrātu* from *šassūru* “womb,” a loan-word from Sumerian), the goddesses who fostered conception and pregnancy until birth. The documents from Mari and Emar show that these goddesses were known throughout northern Syria, at least from the Amorrite period on. It is, therefore, quite possible that they contributed in forming the nature of *Ḫutena* and *Ḫutellura*, a process which can also be documented for other Hurrian deities who found counterparts in the Semitic cultures of Syria (first of all *Teššub*

⁸⁶ Torri 1999, 64–72 and 79–113, has shown that Lelwani/*ALLATUM* and Allani/EREŠ.KI.GAL were two distinct goddesses of the Netherworld, one belonging to the Hattic-Hittite cult, the other to the Hurrian-Hittite one (see also Yoshida 1996, 50). Lelwani was considered a female deity at least from the time of *Ḫattušili III* on. There are, however, some data which show that Lelwani was originally a male god, Torri 1999, 53–57.

and his consort Ḫebat). Perhaps, the idea that the Gulšeš created human beings (according to rituals of Hurrian origin) is derived from the ability ascribed to the Kotharāt to form the child in pregnancy; an ability transmitted to Ḫutena and Ḫutellura, and from them to one of their Hittite equivalents: the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} and the Gulšeš.

Ḫutena and Ḫutellura are present, as midwives, at Ullikummi's birth. They were, therefore, above all, birth goddesses (like the Parcae; cfr. Latin *parēre* “to assist”). The Hittite version (which translates the names of the Hurrian gods, when possible), has both Gulšeš and DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ}. The use to have these two groups of goddesses often together in festivals and rituals may derive also from the fact that Gulšeš and DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} are the usual translation for Ḫutena and Ḫutellura, and occur frequently in the Hurrianized documents.

ADDENDUM

At the *Eighth International Congress of Hittitology* (Warsaw, 5-9 September 2011). Willemijn Waal has suggested that ^DGUL-ša- should be red ^DKuwanša-, not ^DGulša- / ^DGulza(*nnika/nzipa*)-. This is hardly possible because ^DKuwanša- is usually preceded by ^DWaškuwattašši- (van Gessel 276), what is not the case of ^DGUL-ša-. Moreover, the root *kulš*-, *kulz*- is attested in the name-giving already from the Assyrian period.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANET ²	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , 2nd ed., Princeton, New Jersey 1955.
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> , Kevelaer - Neukirchen - Vluyn.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , Berlin 1974 ff.
BMECCJ 4	H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (ed.), <i>Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium B. C.</i> (<i>Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center on Japan</i> , 4), Wiesbaden.
CHD	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago</i> , Chicago 1980 ff.
CTA	Herdner, Andrée, <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques</i> , Paris 1963.
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> , Paris 1971.
DBH	<i>Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie</i> , Dresden / Wiesbaden 2002 ff.
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> , Berlin - New York - Amsterdam 1984 ff.
IndogermF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> , Berlin.
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> , Cambridge, MA
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> , Leipzig/Berlin 1916 ff.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin 1921 ff.
MARI	MARI. <i>Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i> , Paris 1982 ff.
Or.	<i>Orientalia</i> . (Nova Series), Roma 1931 ff.

OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus. Roma 1962 ff.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Berlin 1928-1938; 1957 ff.
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici, Roma 1966 ss.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas, Kevelaer - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969 ff.

DOMINIQUE CHARPIN*

Harrâdum, entre Babylone et le « pays de Mari »**

Je voudrais en commençant dire mon plaisir d'offrir cette contribution à Gernot Wilhelm. Comme on le sait, les textes d'archives paléo-babyloniens ne constituent pas son principal centre d'intérêt, même s'il lui est arrivé d'en publier (je pense à sa contribution au *Festschrift Renger*¹). Ce sont les Hourrites qui nous ont réunis : Jean-Marie Durand l'avait invité à participer en mai 1993 au colloque *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites : dix ans de travaux*². Nous avons ensuite lancé une coopération autour des Hourrites des archives de Mari, dans le cadre des projets franco-allemands dits « Procope » : une première phase eut lieu en 1994-95 et une seconde en 1996-97. Pendant cette période, nous avons eu le plaisir de l'inviter à enseigner à l'EPHE au printemps 1996. Ce colloque en son honneur me donne l'occasion d'exprimer mon admiration pour un aîné qui réunit des qualités variées : un très grand savant qui ne dédaigne pas l'administration de la recherche, un éditeur de textes capable aussi de rédiger des synthèses, un auteur productif qui ne ménage pas son temps à éditer les autres dans des volumes collectifs ou des revues, un philologue de cabinet mais aussi un épigraphiste de terrain, en particulier à Kuşaklı/Sarissa, bref, un homme complet comme il en existe peu. Je dois dire aussi que le succès du « portail d'hittitologie de Mayence³ » n'a pas été étranger à ma décision de lancer le projet ARCHIBAB consacré aux archives paléo-babyloniennes, désormais accessible sur le web⁴. Pour finir, je rappellerai le très beau discours inaugural de Gernot Wilhelm lors de la Rencontre assyriologique de Würzburg en juillet 2008 : il l'avait voulu trilingue, avec un hommage appuyé au rôle de la France dans l'assyriologie que je n'ai pas oublié.

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¹ Wilhelm 1999.

² Wilhelm 1996.

³ Sur le site www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/hethportlinks.html.

⁴ Sur le site www.archibab.fr.

Sur le Moyen-Euphrate, la région du Suhûm est une zone frontière à l'histoire très complexe, en raison de ses rattachements successifs à différents royaumes. Elle se trouve en effet au carrefour de quatre zones : celle de Mari au Nord-Ouest, celle d'Assur et Ekallâtum au Nord-Est, celle d'Ešnunna à l'Est et celle de Babylone au Sud-Est.

Cette région était fort mal connue avant les fouilles de sauvetage qui eurent lieu au début des années 1980 en raison de la construction du barrage de Haditha⁵. La mission française de la DAFIq a exploré le site de Khirbet ed-Diniye, l'antique Harrâdum⁶ ; les niveaux paléo-babyloniens ont livré une centaine de textes d'archives, publiés fin 2006⁷. Leur étude a dès le départ mis l'accent sur la « présence babylonienne dans le pays de Suḥu au XVII^e siècle av. J.-C. », pour reprendre le titre de la première publication consacrée à ce site⁸. Le point de vue développé par Francis Joannès, qui a édité ces tablettes, est qu'on a affaire à des archives paléo-babyloniennes tardives, qui vont de l'an 25 de Samsu-iluna⁹ à l'an 18 d'Ammi-šaduqa¹⁰.

Dans le cadre de ce colloque « Normierung und Emanzipation : Bausteine für eine Kulturgeschichte des 2. Jts. v. Chr. im Alten Orient », je voudrais d'abord mettre en valeur certains éléments de ces textes qui ne correspondent pas aux normes babyloniennes, mais au contraire à celles de Mari et de Terqa : en matière de titres, de calendrier, de mesures de capacité, ou encore de formulaires de certains contrats. On verra que la présence de ces éléments correspond à différentes phases d'une histoire plus complexe qu'on ne l'a cru jusqu'à présent. Dans un deuxième temps, je voudrais revenir sur le rôle du site de Harrâdum. Il a été présenté comme un port sur l'Euphrate, mais sa vocation principale est clairement de nature militaire : il s'agit avant tout d'un site-frontière.

⁵ Pour une vue d'ensemble, voir Kepinski et al. 2006.

⁶ Harrâdum appartenait au Suhûm supérieur, dont Hanat était le chef-lieu, et non au Suhûm inférieur, dont Yabliya était le chef-lieu (corriger le lapsus de Joannès 2006, 19 ; l'indication p. 17 est correcte). Voir mes observations dans Charpin 1997, 360–361 et depuis Lacambre 2006, 131.

⁷ Joannès 2006. Les textes de cet ouvrage seront cités ci-dessous comme *Haradum II* ; cependant, le nom de la ville doit être normalisé comme Harrâdum (voir ci-dessous § 2.2.1).

⁸ Joannès et al. 1983.

⁹ Joannès 2006, 25. Noter que dans le premier compte rendu, il n'était question que de tablettes datées « des règnes de Abi-ešuh, Ammiditana et Ammišaduqa » (Joannès, in Joannès et al. 1983, 138) ; on verra ci-dessous à quel point la présence de textes datés du règne de Samsu-iluna a été sous-évaluée.

¹⁰ Dans sa publication, Francis Joannès donne comme terminus Ammi-šaduqa 17 + b (Joannès 2006, 19). On sait désormais qu'il s'agit de l'année Ammi-šaduqa 18 ; voir Tanret 2001, 458.

1. Des influences variées selon la situation politique

Les textes de Harrâdum, dans leur grande majorité, correspondent à la tradition scribale de l'époque paléo-babylonienne tardive¹¹. Cependant, on observe dans quelques-uns des caractéristiques qui relèvent de la tradition « méso-euphratique » attestée par les archives de Mari ou les textes, légèrement plus tardifs, de ce qu'on appelle le « royaume de Hana »¹². Il s'agit de certains titres, d'unités de mesure, du calendrier et de clauses qu'on trouve dans plusieurs contrats.

1.1 Les titres des responsables locaux

Nous examinerons successivement le titre porté par les « maires » et celui des « gouverneurs ».

1.1.1 Le « maire » : *sugâgum* ou *rabiânum*

Il a existé, selon les moments, deux façons de désigner le responsable de la localité de Harrâdum : on trouve employé tantôt le terme de *sugâgum* et tantôt celui de *rabiânum*¹³. Le terme de *sugâgum* fut utilisé lorsque Harrâdum fit partie du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, et continua à l'être lorsque Mari reprit son indépendance avec Zimrî-Lîm. C'est ainsi que, du temps où Yasmah-Addu occupait le trône de Mari, un *sugâgum* de Harrâdum est mentionné de manière anonyme dans une lettre de Lâ'ûm¹⁴ ; sous le règne de Zimrî-Lîm, plusieurs habitants de Harrâdum sont attestés comme versant leur contribution au titre de la *sugâgûtum*¹⁵. En revanche, c'est le terme de *rabiânum* qui fut exclusivement utilisé lorsque Harrâdum fut rattachée au royaume de Babylone. On en trouve une première mention dès l'an 26 de Samsu-iluna (*Haradum II* 2 : 10). Sous son successeur Abî-ešuh, c'est un certain Habbasânum qui est attesté comme *rabiânum*.

Il n'est guère envisageable que les institutions *locales* aient changé au gré des rattachements politiques ; il est en revanche plus probable que leurs *désignations* aient connu des transformations. Il y avait donc à Harrâdum – et plus généralement dans l'ensemble du Suhûm – des chefs de ville ou village désignés d'abord par le titre amor-

¹¹ Voir Pientka 1998.

¹² Pour ces derniers, voir la synthèse de Podany 2002, à compléter par Charpin 2002.

¹³ J'ai déjà fait à ce sujet des remarques (Charpin 2007, 170 f.) ; voir depuis mon étude sur « Les pouvoirs locaux à l'époque paléo-babylonienne : le cas du maire et des Anciens de Harrâdum » (Charpin 2010b).

¹⁴ A.815 : 5-8, publié dans Guichard 1997, 187 et n. 91.

¹⁵ Voir Marti 2008. Il s'agit de :

– Pulsî-Addu : FM 10 7 (12/ii/ZL 2) : 6 ; 77 : ii 10' ; 78 (5/[...]/ZL 5) : 16 ;

– Pulsî-Erah et Lahamumu : FM 10 75 : 21 et 22 ; 77 : ii 14' et 16'.

rite de *sugâgum* et par la suite par son équivalent babylonien de *rabiânnum*, les deux mots ayant vraisemblablement le même sens¹⁶.

1.1.2 Le « gouverneur » : *šâpiṭum* ou *šâpirum*

Le texte *Haradum II* 23 est très intéressant, dans la mesure où il mentionne un gouverneur avec le titre de *šâpiṭum*, c'est-à-dire le titre attesté dans les archives de Mari¹⁷ et, plus tard, dans les textes de Terqa¹⁸. L'enveloppe de ce texte comporte un nom d'année (absent de la tablette) : MU ALAM ŠÛD.ŠÛD.[DÈ]. Francis Joannès a identifié cette formule comme étant le nom de l'an 27 d'Ammi-ditana, mais c'est une conclusion qu'on doit remettre en cause pour plusieurs raisons :

1. Les formules de datation d'Ammi-ditana commencent toujours par le nom du roi : mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* etc. C'est vrai dans le recueil de *Haradum II*¹⁹ et d'une façon plus générale c'est la marque des textes paléo-babyloniens tardifs²⁰.
2. Par ailleurs, l'abréviation de l'an 7 d'Ammi-ditana est MU *Ammi-ditana* ALAM.A.NI ŠÛD.AN.DI.DIA (1 seul exemple donne ALAM.A.NI ŠÛD.ŠÛD.DÈ²¹), *toujours* avec .A.NI après ALAM.
3. Il serait étonnant d'avoir tablette et enveloppe sous Ammi-ditana : l'usage de placer les contrats sous enveloppe devient exceptionnel après la fin du règne de Samsu-iluna²².

La formule présente sur *Haradum II* 23 est en réalité l'abréviation (courante) du nom de l'an 6 de Samsu-iluna²³. Dès lors, le fait que le gouverneur porte dans ce texte le titre de *šâpiṭum* montre que la domination babylonienne, consécutive à la conquête de

¹⁶ Voir Charpin 2007, 171.

¹⁷ Lion 2001, 142–146. On sait que les gouverneurs dans le royaume d'Ešnunna portaient également le titre de *šâpiṭum*.

¹⁸ Podany 2002, 203 n. 97 et p. 251.

¹⁹ On notera de même que le texte *Haradum II* 38, qui ne comporte pas le nom du roi, ne date pas de « Ammi-ditana ? », mais de l'an 30 de Samsu-iluna, en lisant : (12) MU ÚS.SA ÚS.SA BI (13) *ša* MU Á¹.ÁG¹.GÁ (14) ^dEN.LÍL.LÁ¹.KE¹₄. (cf. *Haradum II* 3). On observera en outre que la tablette est accompagnée d'un fragment d'enveloppe, ce qui serait étonnant sous Ammi-ditana.

²⁰ Frans van Koppen m'a indiqué quelques exceptions. On peut penser que l'apparition systématique du nom du roi est liée au souci d'archivage des scribes : la présence du nom du roi leur permettait plus facilement de s'y retrouver lorsqu'ils mettaient des textes en ordre chronologique (voir Tanret 2001).

²¹ Pientka 1998, 59 (Ungnad BA 6/3, 43 : 8).

²² L'exemple le plus récent date de Ammi-šaduqa 10 (MHET 2/4 519) [réf. Frans van Koppen]. L'exemple le plus ancien de « Quasihüllentafel » date de Samsu-iluna 30 (Wilcke 1990, 305 n. 7).

²³ Voir Horsnell 1999, 186.

Hammu-rabi, n'entraîna pas une babylonisation complète, puisque l'on conserva encore la manière de désigner un gouverneur qui était celle d'Ešnunna²⁴ et de Mari²⁵. En revanche, la lettre *AbB* 13 60, qui mentionne un *šâpirum* du Suhûm, doit être plus tardive, même si sa datation précise ne peut être établie²⁶.

1.2 Mesures, calendrier et onomastique

Le texte *Haradum II* 16 est un contrat banal au premier abord : il s'agit d'un prêt de 5 GUR de grain. Il offre pourtant plusieurs singularités²⁷ :

- la mesure de capacité utilisée : l'intérêt est de 0,4 pour 1 GUR. D'après le calcul de Francis Joannès, cela correspondrait à un taux de 13,3% ; un tel taux d'intérêt n'est pas connu ailleurs à l'époque paléo-babylonienne. Cependant, ce calcul repose sur la base d'un GUR de 300 *qa*. Si l'on admet que l'on utilise le gur « mariote » de 120 *qa* et non le GUR babylonien de 300 *qa*, on retrouve alors le taux habituel de 33%.
- le calendrier : le texte est daté du mois de Lilliyatum, soit le neuvième mois du calendrier de Mari.
- l'onomastique : le nom du débiteur est à lire Mut-Tehrân²⁸, et l'on sait que Tehrân est la ville la plus septentrionale du district de Qaṭṭunân²⁹. Un des témoins s'appelle *ab-du^da-mi* (l. 13), et l'on sait que le dieu Amûm (ou Amî) était vénéré à Tehrân³⁰. Cela ne suffit pourtant pas à considérer que le texte ait été écrit dans la vallée du Habur ; on voit mal en effet pourquoi une créance de ce genre aurait plus tard été transportée à Harrâdum. Il est plus simple de sup-

²⁴ Rappelons en effet que le titre de *šâpîṭum* est également celui des gouverneurs dans le royaume d'Ešnunna (de la même façon, le titre de général y est GAL MAR.TU, et non UGULA MAR.TU, comme à Babylone) : cf. les réf. réunies dans le *CAD* Š/1, p. 459 § 1c.

²⁵ On corrigera donc l'indication de Francis Joannès : « À partir de 1761 (année 32 de Hammu-rabi marquée par la victoire sur Mari), le Suhûm changea à nouveau de mains et fut dirigé par un gouverneur-*šâpirum* » (Joannès 2006, 18).

²⁶ Pour ce texte, voir Charpin 2004, 369. On a donc, me semble-t-il, la réponse à la question posée par Francis Joannès à propos de *AbB* 13 60 (mention d'un *šâpirum*) et de *Haradum II* 23 (mention d'un *šâpîṭum*) : « l'alternance des titres *šâpirum*/*šâpîṭum* a-t-elle une signification chronologique ? Cela reste encore à déterminer » (Joannès 2006, 19). Maintenant que *Haradum II* 23 est daté de Samsu-iluna 6, le doute n'est plus permis.

²⁷ J'ai déjà consacré à ce texte une note brève (Charpin 2006), mais il est désormais possible d'aller plus loin que je ne l'avais fait alors.

²⁸ On lira l. 5 avec la copie ¹*mu-ut-ti-ih-ra-an*. Pour ce genre de NP, voir Durand 1991.

²⁹ Voir Birot 1993, 8.

³⁰ Cf. Durand 2000, 133–136.

poser que le débiteur et un des témoins étaient originaires de Tehrân ; il pourrait, par exemple, s'agir de soldats en garnison à Harrâdum.

- on doit enfin souligner le nom d'année : MU *i-ši-su-mu-a-b[i]*. Comme l'a bien vu Francis Joannès (Joannès 2006, 23), il y a tout lieu de penser que cet Iši-Sûmû-abi est identique au roi de ce nom connu par des documents de Terqa, dont le nom est également écrit Iši-Sûmû-abu³¹. Si l'on admet que la créance *Haradum II* 16 a bien été conservée sur son lieu de rédaction, elle est extrêmement intéressante. On sait en effet qu'Iši-Sûmû-abu a été un « roi de Terqa » antérieur à Yadih-abum³², lui-même vaincu par Samsu-iluna. J'avais déjà supposé que les rois de Terqa avaient étendu leur domination jusque dans la région de Mari³³ : on constate désormais qu'ils l'ont étendue jusqu'à Harrâdum, à environ 90 km en aval de Mari. Ce texte confirme par ailleurs l'appartenance de la vallée inférieure du Habur au royaume de Terqa, ce que la mention d'Annunîtum de Ṭâbatum dans un nom d'année de Yadih-abum avait déjà laissé supposer³⁴. Cette proposition, que j'avais déjà faite en 2006, se trouve désormais renforcée par les découvertes épigraphiques de la mission japonaise de Tell Taban (l'ancienne Ṭâbatum) en 2005 et 2006³⁵. Parmi les tablettes découvertes, on trouve deux lettres de Iši-Sûmû-abi à Yašîm-Mahar ainsi qu'une donation de champs et maison par le roi Iši-Sûmû-abi au même Yašîm-Mahar. Il est donc sûr que le même roi « de Terqa » dominait la vallée du Habur jusqu'aux environs de l'actuelle Hasake, et celle de l'Euphrate jusqu'à Khirbet ed-Diniye, l'antique Harrâdum. La présence à Harrâdum de personnes originaires de Tehrân s'explique désormais fort bien.

1.3 Amende et châtimement

La clause selon laquelle la personne qui contestera un contrat ou un accord devra verser une amende et subir un châtimement corporel est caractéristique de la tradition juridique du Moyen-Euphrate³⁶ : on la rencontre aussi bien à Mari qu'à Terqa, depuis Yahdun-Lîm jusqu'à l'époque médio-babylonienne³⁷. Parfois la nature du châtimement

³¹ *TFR* 1 9 : 19 *i-ši-su-mu-a-bu*. Francis Joannès a transcrit *Haradum II* 16 : 18 mu *i-ši-su-mu-a-bi*, mais sa copie p. 63 permet aussi bien de lire *-b[u]* que *-b[i]*.

³² Voir Charpin 2002, 64 n. 23.

³³ Charpin 2002, 67 f.

³⁴ Charpin 2002, 68 n. 43.

³⁵ Voir Yamada 2008 et 2010.

³⁶ Depuis le colloque de Berlin de janvier 2010, j'ai approfondi ce point : voir mon étude « Amendes et châtimements prévus dans les contrats paléo-babyloniens », à paraître dans les actes du colloque *La Faute et sa punition*, Cahiers de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France, Paris.

³⁷ Voir Charpin 2002, 87.

n'est pas précisée³⁸, parfois il s'agit d'enfoncer un piquet dans la bouche du coupable³⁹, le plus souvent du bitume chaud doit être versé sur sa tête⁴⁰. On rencontre ce dernier type de châtement dans deux textes découverts à Diniye :

– *Haradum II 23* :

(11) *i-ta-ar* ^l*pu-úz-ra-ta-nu-um* (12) *i-ba-qá-ar-ma* (13) 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* É.GAL (14) Ì.LÁ.E (15) *ù ku-up-ra-am a-na qà-qà-di-šu* (16) ^r*iš-ša*^l-*ap*-^r*pa*^l-*ku*

« Si Puzratânûm conteste à nouveau, il devra verser 5 mines d'argent au palais et on versera du bitume sur sa tête ».

Variante de l'enveloppe : (15) *i-ta-ar i-ba-qá-ar-ma* (16) 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (17) [*a-na*] *é-kál-lim* (18) [Ì].LÁ.E (19) [*ù i*] *t-tá-a ku-up-ra* (20) ^r*a-na qá*^l-*qá-di-šu* *iš-ša-ap-pa-ak* ;

– *Haradum II 2* :

(23) *ba*!?-*[qir]* ^r*i*^l-*ba-q[á-r]**u*! 30 MA.N[A! KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* É.GAL Ì.LÁ.E] (24) *ù ku-up*^l-*rum e*[*m-m*]*u-um a-na SAG.DU*-[*šu iššappak*].

Le premier texte date de Samsu-iluna 6 (voir ci-dessus § 1.1.2), le second de Samsu-iluna 26 (voir ci-dessous § 1.4). On voit donc qu'au début de la domination babylonienne, du moins avant Abî-ešuh, ces clauses caractéristiques de la culture méso-euphratique ont été conservées.

1.4 Un contrat de vente aux caractéristiques mixtes

Le contrat *Haradum II 2* documente la vente d'un champ appartenant à la ville de Harrâdum⁴¹. Le contrat est daté du 20/v/Samsu-iluna 26. Le formulaire contient des éléments mixtes. On relève d'abord des éléments « méso-euphratiques » :

³⁸ ARM 8 12+19 : (6) *ba-qí-ir i-ba-qa-ru* (7) 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-na é-kál-lim* (8) Ì.LÁ.E *ù ar-na-am* (9) *in-ne-mi-id* « celui qui contestera devra payer 10 mines d'argent au palais et se verra imposer un châtement (*arum*) ».

³⁹ ARM 8 85+ : (60) ... *ba-qí-ir* A.ŠĀ LUGAL (61) *i-na a-lim sa-pí-ra-tim*^{ki} (62) *ù a-ah-he la-ah-mu-mi* (63) *i-ba-qa-ru* 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* É.GAL (64) Ì.LÁ.E (TL.65) *ù*^{gis}KAK *i-na ri-iš* A.ŠĀ *ša-a-tu* (66) *i-na pí-šu im-ma-ah-ha-aš* « celui qui émettra une revendication sur le champ du roi au sein de la ville de Sapîratum et des frères de Lahmumum devra verser 10 mines d'argent au palais et le piquet (qui se trouve) à la tête du champ lui sera enfoncé dans la bouche » (Charpin 1997, 344–345 avec d'autres références à la clause du piquet).

⁴⁰ Pour cette clause, voir Podany 2002, 234–236 ainsi que Charpin 2002, 87.

- cadastre : voisins désignés 1. 2 et 3 par ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA et ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA⁴² ;
- reprise de l'objet vendu devant le verbe : (20) A.ŠÀ I[N.ŠI.ŠÁM] ;
- une amende en argent et châtement par versement de bitume chaud (voir ci-dessus).

Mais ce contrat comporte également des éléments babyloniens :

- titre de *ra-bé-nu*, i.e. *rabiānum* porté par le « maire » ;
- présence d'une formule de satisfaction : ŠÀ.GA.[NE.NE AL.DU₁₀ INIM].BI [A]L.[TIL] ;
- formulation du serment : MU ^dUTU ^dIŠKUR ^dAMAR.UTU 'u' *sa-am-[s]u-i-[lu-na LUGAL]* ;
- datation par un mois du calendrier babylonien et le nom de l'an 26 de Samsu-iluna.

1.5 Conclusion

On voit donc à quel point une connaissance fine de l'histoire politique est nécessaire si l'on veut bien comprendre certains traits culturels qui peuvent *a priori* présenter un caractère aberrant⁴³. L'on peut dès lors reconstruire l'histoire de Harrâdum de la manière suivante :

- logiquement, Harrâdum a été intégrée au royaume de Babylone au moment de la conquête du Moyen-Euphrate par Hammu-rabi en l'an 32. Elle en faisait tou-

⁴¹ Pour plus de détails sur ce texte, voir mon étude sur « Les pouvoirs locaux à l'époque paléo-babylonienne : le cas du maire et des Anciens de Harrâdum », (Charpin 2010b).

⁴² Voir Podany 1997, 424. 430 f.

⁴³ Je ne saurais donc souscrire tel quel au jugement de Christine Kepinski à propos des niveaux successifs de Diniye : « Il existe bien entre les différentes villes une véritable continuité culturelle : même si l'allégeance à un pouvoir dominant, celui d'Eshunna puis celui de Babylone, marque une rupture, les habitants de la ville ont majoritairement des racines communes, ce sont des nomades récemment sédentarisés et pendant deux siècles, ils vont conserver des habitudes ancestrales » (Kepinski 2006a, 118). Cette appréciation oublie les phases de rattachement à Mari, sous Yasmah-Addu puis Zimri-Lîm ; par ailleurs, cette « continuité culturelle » ne s'applique que partiellement au domaine de l'écrit.

jours partie en l'an 6 de Samsu-iluna, comme en témoigne le texte *Haradum II* 23, une fois sa date correcte établie. Il n'y eut nullement d'« hiatus » dans l'occupation de Harrâdum après la chute de Mari⁴⁴.

- La révolte qui se produisit en l'an 8 de Samsu-iluna n'affecta pas seulement le sud du royaume de Babylone. Les gens du Moyen-Euphrate voulurent également reprendre leur indépendance et c'est ainsi que le royaume de Mari fut reconstitué par Yapah-Sûmû-abum⁴⁵ ; la question se pose de savoir si ce n'est pas Mari – et non Terqa – qui fut sa capitale, de la même manière que Rîm-Sîn II fit à nouveau de Larsa une capitale, ou que Rîm-Anum rendit son rang à Uruk⁴⁶. Le parallèle entre le Sud et le Moyen-Euphrate s'arrête cependant là. En effet, dès l'an 10, Samsu-iluna avait réussi à reprendre en main toutes les régions révoltées au sud de Babylone. En revanche, sur le Moyen-Euphrate, la sécession fut durable : Yapah-Sûmû-abum eut pour successeurs Iši-Sûmû-abum et Yadih-abum. C'est seulement au bout de 17 ans qu'eut lieu une tentative de reconquête babylonienne : Samsu-iluna s'empara alors de Harrâdum (la date la plus ancienne attestée par les textes de Diniye est Samsu-iluna 26 [*Haradum II* 2])⁴⁷. Le nom de l'année 28 de Samsu-iluna in-

⁴⁴ On ne peut donc suivre l'opinion de Francis Joannès : « On sait que la région de Mari fut systématiquement détruite par Hammu-rabi. Harrâdum fut peut-être englobée dans cette transformation en marche désertique de la frontière nord-ouest du royaume de Babylone et cela expliquerait le hiatus observable entre Harrâdum “mariote” et Harrâdum “babylonienne”. Il est d'autre part également possible que la bourgade ait été victime des inondations catastrophiques qui survinrent dans les vallées de l'Euphrate et du Tigre entre 1755 et 1751. Plusieurs raisons militent ainsi en faveur d'une période d'abandon partiel ou total de la ville de Harrâdum, qui expliquerait le mauvais état de conservation du niveau 3 D et l'éventuelle détérioration et perte de couches d'occupation avant la construction du niveau 3 C » (Joannès 2006, 18).

⁴⁵ On peut maintenant choisir cette hypothèse parmi les différents scénarios qui avaient été proposés par Amanda Podany : « If, on the other hand, Yāpah-Sūm[u-x] and some Haneans did spend a period of time in exile, their return to Terqa must have taken place during the reign of Samsuiluna ; it may perhaps have coincided with the general uprisings that occurred in the Babylonian king's eighth year (1742), when Samsu-iluna apparently lost control of a number of regions that his father had conquered » (Podany 2002, 34). Pour un argument supplémentaire en faveur de l'antériorité de Yapâh-Sûmû-abum par rapport à Iši-Sûmû-abum, voir Charpin 2002, 64 n. 23.

On ne saurait donc suivre la présentation d'Olivier Rouault, qui a remarqué récemment à propos des deux noms Yapah-Sûmû-abu et Iši-Sûmû-abu : « Both pay special deference to the Babylonian dynasty whose latest representative had just destroyed the neighbouring Mari. We can safely suppose that these kings were, at that time, still under close control of Babylon, and probably of Hammurapi's successor, the king Samsuiluna » (Rouault 2004, 54b).

⁴⁶ Voir déjà Charpin 2004, 359 ; rappelons que la lettre *AbB* 13 60 mentionne le « pays de Mari ». Je reviendrai prochainement sur cette question.

⁴⁷ Et non pas Samsu-iluna 25 comme l'a indiqué Francis Joannès (Joannès 2006, 25). En effet, *Haradum II* 1 ne saurait dater de « Samsu-iluna 25(?) » (Joannès 2006, 36). Le fragment A comporte le nom de Samsu-iluna 25 : (2') *i-na MU sa-am-su-i-lu-[na LUGAL.E ALAM gisTUKUL*

dique qu'il vainquit Yadih-abum : il n'y figure cependant aucune mention de ville et on peut penser que le roi de Babylone ne s'est pas emparé de la capitale de son ennemi. Jusqu'où Samsu-iluna a-t-il remonté l'Euphrate dans son offensive victorieuse ? On n'en sait rien : mais jusqu'à présent il n'y a aucune trace d'une domination babylonienne sur Terqa à cette époque⁴⁸ : cette interprétation renforcerait la thèse de Amanda Podany, pour qui les textes de Terqa datés de Yadih-abum sont contemporains de la fin de Samsu-iluna et peut-être d'Abî-ešuh⁴⁹.

Une nouvelle hypothèse peut donc être formulée. Suite à la victoire de Samsu-iluna, le royaume de Yadih-abum aurait simplement été amputé : la frontière entre Babylone et Terqa passa désormais non plus en aval, mais en amont de Harrâdum. Le site de Harrâdum resta une frontière, mais changea de main. Suite à ce changement politique, le calendrier en usage à Harrâdum devint celui de Babylone et Marduk fut introduit dans les serments. Mais la babylonisation ne fut pas immédiate, comme on l'a vu : le contrat *Haradum II* 2, daté de l'an 26 de Samsu-iluna, montre que le scribe qui le rédigea, Aya-dâdum, avait conservé certains éléments des formulaires en vigueur à Terqa⁵⁰. Par ailleurs, les unités de mesure en usage à Harrâdum continuèrent pendant longtemps à être celles de Mari⁵¹.

SĪG.GE ME.DÍM] (3') [NA]M.UR.[S]AG.[GÁ.KA.NA] : il ne s'agit pas du nom de l'an 24. Le fragment B comporte le nom de l'an 28 : (4') *ša* [i-na] MU *sa*-[am-su-i-lu-na] LUGAL.E (5') [Á.Á]G.GÁ.[^dEN.LÍL.LÁ] : il ne s'agit pas du nom de l'an 25. Le texte date donc au plus tôt de Samsu-iluna 28. Le texte le plus ancien serait donc *Haradum II* 2, qui date effectivement de l'an 26.

⁴⁸ Mon hypothèse sur l'application à Terqa de la *mīšarum* de Samsu-iluna 28 (Charpin 2002, 70) est sans doute à abandonner.

⁴⁹ Podany 2002, 38.

⁵⁰ Ce scribe pourrait d'ailleurs être le même que le scribe homonyme de *Haradum II* 16, daté de Iši-Sûmû-abum : cela expliquerait pourquoi le texte *Haradum II* 2 reprend des éléments des formulaires des textes de Terqa.

⁵¹ Ainsi, on relève l'emploi de A.GAR dans *Haradum II* 96 : 1, texte datant de l'an 16 d'Ammi-ditana. On corrigera le commentaire de Francis Joannès : « Selon le système de Babylone, cela représente etc. » (Joannès 2006, 137). La mesure A.GAR (= 10 GUR) n'est jamais utilisée dans le « système de Babylone ». On a encore des A.GAR sous Ammi-šaduqa 16 (*Haradum II* 104 : 1, 4, 6). Noter cependant le montant de 16,0.5 ŠE.GUR au n° 50 (sans date) ou 74,0.0 ŠE.GUR dans la lettre n° 24 : 8, donc sans recours à l'A.GAR (= 10 GUR).

2. Le rôle de Harrâdum : port de commerce ou forteresse ?

L'idée que le rôle essentiel de Harrâdum ait été celui d'un port sur l'Euphrate à vocation commerciale a été soutenue dès la première présentation des textes⁵². Elle a fait son chemin dans la bibliographie⁵³ : je dois dire que je ne partage pas ce point de vue⁵⁴. Un port est par nature un élément de liaison : il me semble au contraire que, tout au long de son histoire⁵⁵, Harrâdum a fonctionné comme une frontière⁵⁶.

2.1 Le rôle commercial de Harrâdum

Francis Joannès parle du commerce de Harrâdum en le qualifiant notamment de « fluvial, remontant vers l'amont jusqu'à Emar » (Joannès 2006, 26) : mais le seul texte de *Haradum II* 97 qui parle d'Emar ne fait nullement allusion à un commerce fluvial. Il est possible que « le trafic fonctionne dans les deux sens, avec un halage en direction de l'amont » (Joannès 2006, 26), mais sûrement pas jusqu'à Emar. On sait en effet que le défilé basaltique de Halebiye-Zalebiye (al-Khanuqa) ne permettait pas à cet endroit de remonter le fleuve en bateau⁵⁷. Par ailleurs, les cordes de *Haradum II* 62 peuvent avoir servi à d'autres choses qu'à « haler des bateaux » (Joannès 2006, 109). Enfin, rien ne

⁵² « ... la partie de la population qui a laissé des archives s'adonnait au commerce, en utilisant surtout l'axe que fournit l'Euphrate » (Francis Joannès, dans Joannès et al. 1983, 141). Voir encore Christine Kepinski : « ... sa fonction principale est d'ordre commercial ... » (*apud* Joannès 2006, 14).

⁵³ C'est ainsi que Rosel Pientka parle de Harrâdum comme d'une « Kaufmannskolonie » (Pientka 1998, 16 et n. 63). Cette vision a désormais atteint les synthèses destinées aux non-spécialistes. Voir par exemple tout récemment : « Haradum on the middle Euphrates, about 90 km south-east of Mari, was a settlement to facilitate trade up and down the river » (Crawford 2007, 83).

⁵⁴ J'ai déjà exprimé mes réticences dans Charpin 2004, 355, mais apparemment sans guère de succès. Je reprends donc ici le dossier de manière plus approfondie, disposant cette fois du détail des textes.

⁵⁵ Je me limite ici bien entendu à l'époque paléo-babylonienne.

⁵⁶ Francis Joannès avait noté que pour l'époque de Zimri-Lîm, le site fonctionnait comme la limite amont du Suhûm, ajoutant : « il est intéressant de remarquer que la frontière actuelle entre Iraq et Syrie n'est pas très éloignée de cette ligne de démarcation antique » (Joannès 1992, 31).

⁵⁷ Ce point a été relevé par Jean-Marie Durand (Durand 1990, 86). Le texte le plus clair est *ARM* 26/1 17 : Asqudum y mentionne Lasquum comme l'endroit où un chargement depuis Mari jusqu'à Imar n'est plus convoyé par bateau, mais porté par des hommes (voir Durand 1988). Francis Joannès lui-même avait indiqué à propos du défilé d'al-Khanuqa : « Le passage de Halebiyé-Zalebiyé est difficile, car il y a là un défilé qui provoque des remous, rendant la navigation difficile » (Joannès 1996, 334), mais il a oublié d'indiquer que cela pose surtout un problème insurmontable pour le halage des bateaux qui voudraient remonter le courant. Il faut revenir sur la traduction de *tâtilum* par « aides (pour haler) » dans la lettre *LAPO* 18 858 (= *ARM* 13 35) (Durand 2000, 22 n. e) : il est question dans ce texte de navigation *descendante*, d'Imar à Mari, donc qui ne pose pas de problème de halage. On corrigera sur ce point le CAD T 94a, qui en l'occurrence n'aurait pas dû suivre Jean-Marie Durand (Durand 1983, 161) en traduisant « boat-tower » (il s'agit d'un hapax).

prouve que le *miksum* de *Haradum II* 53 soit à comprendre comme un « péage fluvial » (Joannès 2006, 95). Certes, le dossier mariote des lettres de Numušda-nahrari à Iddin-Numušda documente en abondance des prélèvements-*miksum* sur la cargaison de bateaux descendant l'Euphrate, mais on connaît aussi des cas où le *miksum* frappe des marchandises circulant par voie terrestre⁵⁸.

2.2 Harrâdum, forteresse sur l'Euphrate

On voit donc que la vocation portuaire de Harrâdum n'apparaît guère dans les textes retrouvés. Au contraire, différents éléments permettent de souligner son rôle de forteresse.

2.2.1 Harrâdum, une frontière entre l'Est et l'Ouest

La question de la date de la « fondation » de Harrâdum a évolué au fil des années. Dans l'une des premières présentations des résultats de la fouille de Khirbet ed-Diniye, en 1983, le problème avait été bien posé : « Pour le premier état, deux hypothèses sont envisageables : Haradum pourrait être une fondation mariote, antérieure donc à 1760 (chronologie moyenne) ; nous n'adopterons cette hypothèse que si on trouve un jour mention de Haradum dans les textes de Mari. Si tel n'est pas le cas, il faudra alors envisager que Haradum ait été après 1760 l'œuvre d'Hammu-rabi lui-même ou plus vraisemblablement, si l'on tient compte de la durée moyenne des phases d'occupation suivantes, de son successeur Samsu-iluna (1749-1712) »⁵⁹. La réponse n'a pas tardé à venir. En 1988, Sylvie Lackenbacher publiait deux lettres adressées à Zimrî-Lîm, où Harrâdum était mentionnée⁶⁰. Neuf ans plus tard, la publication de nouveaux textes de Mari montra que Harrâdum était attestée, non seulement sous Zimrî-Lîm, mais dès l'époque de Yasmah-Addu⁶¹. Un document publié en 1991 a également permis de montrer que Harrâdum avait été à un moment donné rattachée à un certain Hagalum, *šakkanakkum* de Râpiqum⁶². Il est difficile de dater cette allu-

⁵⁸ Voir la lettre A.229, où il est question de l'éventuel prélèvement d'un *miksum* de 10% sur des moutons achetés par des marchands d'Imar venus dans la steppe (Durand 1990, 81).

⁵⁹ Joannès 1983, 121.

⁶⁰ Voir le commentaire de Lackenbacher 1988, 409. Dans la lettre de Kibsi-Addu (*ARM* 26/2 503 : 14), Harrâdum était citée comme endroit de stationnement de troupes mariotes au moment de l'invasion ešnunéenne de l'an 2 de Zimrî-Lîm. Dans *ARM* 26/2 501 : 11, Buqâqum indique qu'il envoie sa lettre depuis Harrâdum où il se trouve avec Atamrum en route depuis la Babylonie vers Andarig.

⁶¹ Charpin 1997; les attestations sous Zimrî-Lîm sont signalées p. 347 n. 27. La référence à Harrâdum à l'époque de Yasmah-Addu figure p. 361 n° 9 : 8'. J'avais également signalé qu'une référence à *ha-ar-ra-dim*^{ki} figurait déjà dans *ARM* 4 1 : 7 (Charpin 1997, 347 n. 26).

⁶² Il s'agit de la lettre A.1289+, attribuable au roi Ibâl-pî-El II d'Ešnunna (Charpin 1991, 159).

sion ; en tout cas, elle montre qu'à une certaine époque Harrâdum a dépendu du royaume d'Ešnunna⁶³.

J'avais donc écrit dans ma synthèse sur l'histoire paléo-babylonienne à propos de Diniye : « La stratigraphie du site ne laisse guère de place pour les périodes de Samsî-Addu et de Zimrî-Lîm ; l'homogénéité du corpus céramique non plus. On ne peut exclure un déplacement du site avec reconstruction dans les années qui précèdent Samsu-iluna 26, ce qui cadre bien avec la préparation de l'offensive contre Terqa »⁶⁴. J'avais formulé cette suggestion parce que, dans le volume de la publication finale du niveau paléo-babylonien (*Haradum I* = Kepinski 1992), le niveau 3D, le plus ancien, avait été daté de la construction du site sous Samsu-iluna⁶⁵.

Postérieurement à l'achèvement du volume *Haradum II*, Christine Kepinski a changé d'avis : « Il ne sera pas utile de chercher ailleurs la petite bourgade décrite par les textes de Mari : elle se trouve bien sous les villes babyloniennes et de nombreux éléments de la culture matérielle de ce niveau [i.e. 3D] viennent confirmer cette hypothèse » (Kepinski 2006a, 118). Et d'affirmer de manière très tranchée : « il ne fait aucun doute maintenant que Haradum a été fondée par Eshnunna »⁶⁶. Elle s'appuie sur la lettre A.1289+, qu'elle cite d'après la nouvelle traduction de Jean-Marie Durand⁶⁷ ; les passages concernant Harrâdum sont malheureusement très abîmés, de sorte que leur interprétation est loin d'être assurée. Ce qui est certain, c'est que le roi d'Ešnunna Ibâl-pî-El II y proposa à Zimrî-Lîm de conclure une alliance qui prenne comme modèle celle qui avait existé entre Ešnunna et Mari du temps de Yahdun-Lîm. Or nous savons qu'à cette époque la frontière entre les deux royaumes passait à Puzurrân, que Yahdun-Lîm racheta au roi d'Ešnunna ; sans que la localisation précise de Puzurrân soit connue, la ville devait se situer sur l'Euphrate à une dizaine de kilomètres en aval de Mari⁶⁸. Il est donc sûr qu'à ce moment la région de Harrâdum était aux mains du roi d'Ešnunna ; mais nous n'avons pas de référence à la ville qui date de ce moment-là. Plus haut dans la même lettre A.1289+, le roi d'Ešnunna avait indiqué à Zimrî-Lîm qu'il ne s'opposerait pas à ce que la frontière entre leurs deux royaumes fût fixée à Harrâdum. C'est dans ce passage qu'il indiqua que la ville avait dépendu de Hagalum, le gouverneur-

⁶³ Charpin 1999, 100–103.

⁶⁴ Charpin 2004, 354 f. A la suite de cela, Francis Joannès a écrit : « On considérera donc soit que les niveaux inférieurs (3 D et 3 E) correspondent partiellement à la période précédente de l'histoire de la ville [i.e. avant Samsu-iluna], soit, en suivant la reconstitution proposée par Dominique Charpin, que la Harrâdum “mariote” a pu se trouver sur un emplacement *proche de* mais non *identique à* Khirbet ed-Diniye » (Joannès 2006, 20).

⁶⁵ Christine Kepinski y notait à propos des traces d'occupation ténues de la couche 3D : « L'hypothèse la plus vraisemblable est qu'elles correspondent à l'occupation du site durant sa construction » (Kepinski 1992, 13).

⁶⁶ Kepinski 2006a, 118.

⁶⁷ Durand 1997, 436 n° 281. L'*editio princeps* de A.1289+ a été donnée dans Charpin 1991, 147–159, que Christine Kepinski ne semble pas avoir consultée.

⁶⁸ Voir Charpin 1992.

šakkanakkum de Râpiqum. Cette affaire n'était pas très ancienne, puisque les « serviteurs âgés » de Zimrî-Lîm pouvaient lui rappeler la situation ; elle peut néanmoins remonter à l'époque de Yahdun-Lîm. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous savons que de manière générale le Suhûm a connu plusieurs phases⁶⁹ :

- 1) domination par Ešnunna, sans doute sous Narâm-Sîn : c'est le moment où Yahdun-Lîm acheta Puzurrân ;
- 2) conquête par Samsî-Addu ; en l'an 10 de Hammu-rabi, Babylone s'empara brèvement de Râpiqum ;
- 3) campagne d'Ešnunna dans le Suhûm en l'éponymie d'Ikuppîya, suivie d'un rapide repli ;
- 4) campagne d'Ešnunna peu après la mort de Samsî-Addu ; Zimrî-Lîm réussit à s'emparer du Suhûm ;
- 5) campagne d'Ešnunna en l'an 3 de Zimrî-Lîm ; la paix conclue en l'an 5 confirma le rattachement du Suhûm à Zimrî-Lîm.

La référence à Harrâdum la plus ancienne que nous puissions situer avec certitude dans le temps est celle de M.10991, qui date de la phase 3⁷⁰. La mention de Hagalum dans A.1289+ renvoie à la phase 1 ou 2. Même s'il est très possible en effet qu'Ešnunna soit à l'origine de la construction de Harrâdum, on voit donc que nous n'en avons pas encore de preuve assurée⁷¹.

2.2.2 Un site au caractère militaire marqué

Quelle que soit la date de la fondation de Harrâdum, il est certain que sa reconquête par Samsu-iluna vers l'an 25 de son règne eut un caractère militaire marqué : on ne peut exclure qu'il ait souhaité implanter une ville neuve sur les ruines de l'ancienne ville⁷². On sait qu'il l'a fait l'année d'avant dans la Diyala : en témoigne

⁶⁹ Pour le détail, on me permettra de renvoyer à Charpin – Ziegler 2003.

⁷⁰ Texte publié dans Charpin 1997, 361 n° 9 : 8°.

⁷¹ Il est clair que, d'un point de vue archéologique, la question n'est pas neutre, puisqu'il s'agit de comparer le cas de Diniye avec celui de Tell Harmal ; voir Huot 1988, 15–18.

⁷² Francis Joannès a parlé de « véritable “refondation” de la ville, sous forme d'une bourgade fortifiée, que ses successeurs devaient conserver en l'état, telle qu'elle a été retrouvée par les fouilles » (Joannès 2006, 18). Mais cette vision repose sur l'hypothèse d'un quasi abandon du site depuis la chute de Mari, ce qu'on sait maintenant être faux (voir *supra* note 44). On peut évidemment supposer que la reconquête de Harrâdum par Samsu-iluna juste avant l'an 26 s'accompagna de destructions telles que la ville dut effectivement être reconstruite.

Dûr-Samsu-iluna à Khafajah, dont la construction fut commémorée dans le nom de l'an 24 et par une inscription de fondation dont un exemplaire a été retrouvé sur place⁷³. La place forte de Samsu-iluna (« Mount B ») n'occupe qu'une petite partie du site. A Diniye, on doit rappeler que trois textes ont été trouvés dans le bâtiment 35, à l'extérieur de la muraille⁷⁴ : le n° 2 date justement de l'année Samsu-iluna 26 et le n° 1 de l'an 28. Hélas, les fouilles de Diniye n'ont pas permis de retrouver un document de fondation analogue à celui de Khafajah. La coïncidence chronologique est néanmoins frappante et doit être soulignée. En l'an 23, Samsu-iluna reprit le contrôle de l'ancien royaume d'Ešnunna qui lui avait échappé, malgré sa victoire sur Iluni quelques années auparavant⁷⁵ ; il rebâtit alors des forteresses le long de la Diyala, réinstalla les populations locales ralliées à son pouvoir. Il semble bien que l'année suivante, conforté par cette victoire, il ait décidé de reprendre de même le contrôle de l'extrémité nord-ouest du Suhûm, qui était passée depuis 17 ans sous la domination des rois de Terqa⁷⁶.

2.2.3 L'étymologie du nom du site

La question du nom antique du site a donné lieu à un malentendu entre archéologues et épigraphistes. Le nom de Khirbet ed-Diniye n'a pas changé entre l'époque paléo-babylonienne et l'époque médio- et néo-assyrienne, passant de « Harrâdum » à « Haradu »⁷⁷. Le toponyme est écrit *ha-ra-du* ou *ha-ra-du-um* en paléo-babylonien (et *ha-ra-di-im* au génitif) et c'est l'étymologie qui conduit à normaliser le nom en Harrâdum⁷⁸, sur le même schéma que Harrânûm (notre « Harran »). La forme Harrâdâ (*ha-ra-da*) est déjà attestée à l'époque paléo-babylonienne, dans la lettre du roi d'Ešnunna à Zimrî-Lîm⁷⁹, selon une alternance *-â* / *-um* bien connue à la fin des toponymes à cette période⁸⁰. Dans les sources néo-assyriennes, on retrouve *ha-ra-du* ou

⁷³ Frayne 1990, 388–391 n° 8 (Ex. 2) ; un autre exemplaire provient des fouilles du Merkes à Babylone.

⁷⁴ Les textes *Haradum II* 1-3 ont été trouvés dans le bâtiment 35, situé à l'extérieur de la muraille, dans un vase (Joannès 2006, 35). Francis Joannès pense qu'on est là dans le quartier du port (*kârum*), parlant de l'« installation de structures bâties assez sommaires dans cet endroit appelé *kârum* » (Joannès 1992, 32).

⁷⁵ Charpin 1998.

⁷⁶ Il faut cependant abandonner l'idée que le texte *Haradum II* 2 ait un rapport avec la situation politico-militaire ; il s'agit de la vente d'un terrain municipal par le maire-*rabiânûm* et la ville de Harrâdum (Charpin 2010b).

⁷⁷ Comme l'écrit Christine Kepinski (Kepinski 2006b, 330. 332).

⁷⁸ Cf. Durand 1998, 89 (à la suite de Durand 1987, 170) et p. 549. On ajoutera la graphie pleine exceptionnelle *ha-ar-ra-dim*^{ki} en ARM 4 1 : 7 (elle avait été lue *ha-ar-ra-tim*^{ki}, d'où l'interprétation d'une finale en *-atum* par Brigitte Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. XII, aujourd'hui à abandonner).

⁷⁹ A.1289 : iii 10 (Charpin 1991, 151 ; cf. p. 157 note à iii 10).

⁸⁰ Voir Charpin 2003, 4.

ha-ra-da, ou même *ha-ri-di*⁸¹. Il n'y a donc que des variantes pour un seul et même nom à toutes les époques, Harrâdu(m) / Harrâdâ⁸².

Jean-Marie Durand a proposé que le toponyme Harrâdum, formé sur la même racine que le verbe *harâdum* « surveiller », signifie « la guette »⁸³. Rappelons que « la guette » désigne en français à l'origine la sentinelle chargée de surveiller les alentours du plus haut des ouvrages de défense d'un château ou d'une ville ; le mot a fini par désigner la tour où s'installait cette sentinelle. Si on admet une évolution analogue en akkadien, cela expliquerait que la formation PaRRâS des noms de métier soit celle de notre toponyme. Cela donne surtout une indication très claire sur la fonction primordiale du site : elle est, comme d'autres éléments l'ont donné à penser, avant tout de nature militaire⁸⁴. La raison de l'installation d'un poste militaire à cet endroit précis s'explique par la présence d'un gué sur l'Euphrate⁸⁵.

Conclusion

Mettre l'accent sur la fonction militaire de Harrâdum permet d'expliquer les caractéristiques culturelles relevées dans la première partie de cette étude. Les phases les plus anciennes, quand Harrâdum fut rattachée au royaume d'Ešnunna, puis à celui de Mari sous Yasmah-Addu et Zimri-Lîm, enfin à celui de Babylone à partir de la conquête de Hammu-rabi, n'ont pas livré de textes. Mais lorsque, après la révolte contre Babylone en l'an 8 de Samsu-iluna, Harrâdum devint un avant-poste de la culture méso-euphratique, ses textes relevaient de la même tradition que celle des documents de Mari ou de Terqa. Au contraire, lorsqu'elle fut fermement rattachée au royaume de Babylone, à partir de l'an 26 de Samsu-iluna, les documents de Harrâdum furent rédigés suivant

⁸¹ Pour cette forme avec harmonie vocalique, cf. Liverani 1992, 66 n. 302.

⁸² On ne retiendra pas l'indication de Joannès 2006, 19 : « Le souvenir de la ville de Harrâdum demeura cependant assez vivace pour que Tukulti-Ninurta II puisse en faire état sous la forme *Harrâda* au IX^e siècle » (corriger n. 17 la référence à *RIMA* I, p. 175 en *RIMA* 2). D'une part, la forme « Harrâda » est déjà attestée à l'époque paléo-babylonienne. D'autre part, la formulation du passage donne l'impression que la ville a disparu entre le fin de l'époque paléo-babylonienne et l'époque néo-assyrienne ; or elle est attestée dès la fin de l'époque médio-assyrienne, deux tablettes du règne de Teglath-phalasar I^{er} y ayant été découvertes (Tenu 2006, 222).

⁸³ Durand 1998, 89 (à la suite de Durand 1987, 170) ; cette référence aurait dû être citée dans Joannès 2006, 17 n. 1 (la référence à Durand 1987 [*MARI* 5] figurait dans Joannès 1992, 30).

⁸⁴ Je rejoins ici ce qu'avait écrit Francis Joannès en 1992 : « la ville fortifiée jouait le rôle de poste militaire sous la dynastie de Babylone, et sans doute même dès l'époque de Mari » (Joannès 1992, 30).

⁸⁵ Francis Joannès (1992, 30 n. 3) a justement rappelé que le roi néo-assyrien Assurnasirpal II traversa l'Euphrate à cet endroit (voir désormais Grayson 1991, 175 n° 5: 74 f.).

les normes babyloniennes. On voit donc le lien très étroit qui unit les normes de la culture écrite et la situation politique⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ Pour un autre exemple, encore plus radical, de ce phénomène on peut rappeler l'« akkadisation » des textes cunéiformes de Mari à l'époque de Yahdun-Lîm, sous l'influence manifeste d'Ešnunna ; voir Charpin 2012.

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JEAN-MARIE DURAND*

Nommer à l'époque amorrite

Les archives cunéiformes comportent une grande richesse onomastique que, depuis longtemps, on a exploitée à tous niveaux, tant linguistique, que religieux ou même social. Il est néanmoins difficile de savoir, faute de contextes nets ou d'explications précises¹, de qui émanent les affirmations ou les qualifications que les NP représentent ; on interprète leurs significations plus ou moins à l'exemple de la joute en fécondité qu'illustre avec beaucoup d'imagination *Gen.* xxix, selon qui Léa et Rachel auraient donné à leurs « fils » des noms commémorant l'avantage qu'ils leur procuraient. Le nom aurait sa motivation par rapport à l'arrivée de l'enfant dans une famille.

Mais ce genre de spéculations relève, dans la majeure partie des cas, de la vraisemblance, voire de la simple ingéniosité du commentateur moderne, avec toutes les erreurs que font encourir ces procédés. Comme l'onomastique est, plus que beaucoup d'autres opérations humaines, soumise à la mode, il vaut sans doute mieux l'aborder par époques plutôt que tenter une interprétation générale. Pour cette raison, je m'en tiendrai ici dans la plupart des cas à l'époque dite amorrite.

1. Une onomastique primaire ou secondaire ?

Comme à beaucoup d'époques et de sociétés, il a dû alors exister une pratique de redénomination de l'individu au cours de sa vie. On peut se demander *a priori* si ceux que nous voyons être documentés par nos textes y portent bien le nom de leur naissance. Lorsque l'on constate que l'appellation d'un individu correspond trop à une occupation dont on ne pouvait pas prévoir à sa naissance qu'elle lui serait confiée, l'idée s'en impose d'elle même. Ainsi, pour ce qui est de Mari, se rend-on compte que les noms des portiers du harem², ou ceux des nourrices des enfants royaux³ correspondent trop bien à leurs activités professionnelles pour ne pas, en fait, représenter la tâche qui leur a été confiée à un moment donné. Il est impossible de dire si le « nom nouveau » oblitère l'ancien ou se juxtapose à lui.

* Collège de France, EPHE IV^e Section, UMR 7192.

¹ Outre le classique ouvrage de Stamm 1939, on peut aisément le compléter avec le recueil d'articles publié dans *Studi Epigraphici e linguistici* 8, 1991 ; cf. en outre l'ouvrage de Radner, 2004.

² Cf. Durand 1984, 127 n. 2 et Ziegler 1999, 114.

³ Cf. Ziegler 1999, 109.

De la même façon, les gens qui ont un rapport de grande proximité au roi portent son nom comme théonyme (un médecin s'appelle Samsî-Addu-tukultî⁴) ou renvoient dans leur appellatif implicitement à Lui⁵. Des fonctionnaires s'appellent ainsi Šarkas.sum-Mâtum ou Eres.sum-Mâtum⁶. On est tenté de généraliser le procédé et de proposer que tout fonctionnaire porte en fait un nom en référence à son roi, ce qui ne peut être absolument prouvé à Mari comme cela est patent à Isin, par exemple, mais fournit un système d'explication de leur onomastique assez cohérent.

Un autre phénomène que l'on pourrait appeler « d'adaptation » consiste dans le fait qu'un nom peut être translaté à différents niveaux linguistiques : c'est le cas de Raindu ou Tattašše pour désigner la même femme à Emar⁷ : l'opposition que l'on constate à Mari dans l'usage de *nîrî* pour les NP féminins en opposition à *nûrî* pour les NP masculins montre l'akkadisation de certains niveaux de la population par rapport à d'autres qui restent plus proches de ce qui était sans doute la réalité vernaculaire⁸. C'est au même phénomène que correspond l'opposition (entre tablette et enveloppe) des appellations Yattin-Addu et Iddin-Addu pour le même individu (texte juridique de Mari inédit).

Il faut donc supposer que, si au cours de sa vie un fonctionnaire était susceptible de changer de nom, cet appellatif n'était pas un simple individualisant mais était porteur d'un sens perçé comme tel.

2. Une onomastique obligée

Certains milieux, de façon générale, étaient tenus à l'époque amorrite à des traditions familiales, donc onomastiques.

2.1 Des noms en *Hammu-*

Dans la sous-série constituée par des «noms de chef», ceux qui s'appellent Hammu-rabi sont, chaque fois qu'on peut les connaître de façon concrète, des gens importants. De fait, ils font référence au terme *hammum* ('ammum) qui désigne à l'époque l'aïeul paternel, celui au delà duquel ne remontait sans doute pas l'expérience vécue du porteur de nom (EGO). Ne le pouvaient donc que ceux qui se prétendaient chefs de la famille. Ceux qui s'appelaient « Hammu-rabi » étaient bien «l'Ancien» de leur groupe, chaque fois que l'on peut y connaître leur position.

⁴ Durand 1988, 556.

⁵ Cf. Durand 1984, 131–132 & *Annuaire du Collège de France*, Résumé des cours et travaux 2000–2001, 694–695 et Durand 2001–2002, *Annuaire du Collège de France*, Résumé des cours et travaux 2001–2002, 754–755.

⁶ Cf. Durand 1984, 130.

⁷ Cf. Durand 1989 & Durand – Marti 2003, 164.

⁸ Cf. Lacambre 1994 ainsi que l'emploi du terme en akkadien, selon la note de Marti 2002.

Ainsi sur les 13 occurrences de ce NP qu'enregistre *ARM XVI/1*, 100–101, peut-on distinguer :

n°1 = roi de Babylone (y ajouter le n°8 et le n°13),

n°2 = roi du Yamhad,

n°3 = roi du Numhâ (y ajouter les n°6 et n°7).

Il existe encore un roi Hammu-rabi, d'Ašnakkum, que me signale Michaël Guichard. Cette constatation sert à mieux apprécier ceux qui avaient des positions moins en vue. Ainsi dans *ARM VIII 13*, un accord entre deux tribus des Bensim'alites *ašarugâyum*, un Hammu-rabi est-il le premier nommé des Ibalahum, la liste précédente contenant celle des Yûmmahammu⁹. Le même chef bédouin *ašarugâyum* se retrouve dans *ARM VIII 45* où trois personnes, Adrêhad, Hammu-rabi et Išhi-Dagan empruntent à Šamaš et à Habdu-Eštar, apparemment le chef d'une sous-tribu (*gâyum*), le clan de Nahân¹⁰. Il s'agit là encore de chefs de clans qui devaient emprunter aux noms des ancêtres de leurs groupes.

Le n°9 de *ARM XVI/1* mentionne avec Hammu-rabi et Bunu-hammî deux notables des Rabbéens, que l'on peut tenir pour des chefs de clans. Le n°11 de *ARM XVI/1* mentionne des NP parmi lesquels se trouvent beaucoup d'homonymes de notables bensim'alites bien connus par ailleurs pour leur rang prééminent : il doit donc s'agir de chefs de famille du clan des Qaşûm.

2.2 Les noms en -Lîm

L'analyse serait identique pour la série en Lîm (à lire sans doute Li'im), terme qui fait référence à la tribu (cf. héb. *le'om*) ou à un ensemble de clans.

- (a) Beaucoup de rois ou de chefs de tribu comportent ce terme dans leur nom : **Yagîd-Lîm** (père de Yahdun-Lîm); **Yahdun-Lîm** (rois à Mari et à Carkémish; prince mâr yamîna; prince royal à Mari); **Zimrî-Lîm** (roi à Mari); **Yarîm-Lîm** (roi d'Alep; prince mâr yamîna); **Qarnî-Lîm** (roi à Andarig); chez d'autres Mâr sim'al, on compte **Yaphur-Lîm** (scheich d'Izallu), **Išar-Lîm** (roi ou figure très importante de l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie), **Abî-Lîm** (roi de Zalluhân), **Asdî-Lîm** roi de Kahat, soit en tout 15 rois ou fils de rois.

Même si nous ne connaissons pas l'origine des autres porteurs de noms en -Lîm, plusieurs d'entre eux devaient avoir un lien direct avec la famille royale de Mari, comme

⁹ Le dernier témoin, soi-disant *igi pu-sa-nu-tum* a été réinterprété par Charpin 2010, 34, n. 59, comme à lire *ši-bu an-nu-tum*.

¹⁰ Lisant l. 12' : [dumu ia]-ši-im-'à-a {É A} na-h[a-n]u-um, ga-a-um i-tûr-ba-al.

Bahdî-Lîm qui semble avoir tenu de très près au roi de Mari¹¹ et avait reçu la charge du district de la capitale ; il peut avoir été un de ses frères (sans doute d'une autre mère) ou au moins un de ses cousins.

(b) Un autre groupe assez nombreux se trouve dans les textes juridiques rassemblés dans *ARM VIII*, par Georges Boyer :

- Ahî-Lîm, 96 : 3 ;
- Ilî-Lîm, 33 : 21 (ZL), témoin qualifié de nu-kiri₆, dans une affaire de prêt d'argent d'auprès de Šamas et d'un orfèvre ; d'autres artisans qualifiés (nagar, l. 17, simug, l. 22) ainsi qu'un marchand (l. 16) sont présents, ce qui indique un certain rang social ou de fortune ;
- Nuhmî-Lîm, 57 : 19 (Y-L), scribe ;
- Rip'i-Lîm, 63 : 28 (S) : témoin parmi des NP qui ont été portés par de très hauts personnages ;
- Šibi-Lîm 65 : 15 (Z-L), témoin pour une affaire de garantie portant sur une somme considérable (10 mines) ;
- Yakûn-Lîm 39 : 12 (Y-A), témoin dans une affaire de garantie sur une somme mineure ; 40 : 12 (Y-A), même sujet (et témoins), le texte semble indiquer la région de Terqa (ménologie) ; *ARM XVI/1* indique qu'il peut s'agir du fonctionnaire de Yasmah-Addu de *ARM VII* 10 : 13 où il sert de gîr dans une affaire d'ex-voto.
- Yâpah-Lîm 54 : 11' (Y-A), témoin dans une affaire de prêt, à côté du marchand Yaphuṣ-Eštar¹².

Toutes ces affaires dans lesquelles ces gens sont impliqués montrent qu'ils avaient un rang social non négligeable car ne pouvait être garant n'importe qui dans une opération où étaient en jeu d'importantes sommes d'argent.

(c) Or, il existe également une série assez importante de gens catalogués comme « esclaves » par *ARM XVI/1* du fait de leur apparition dans des listes de l'époque de Sumû-Yamam. Dans un texte, le colophon est explicite :

« Total général : 955 esclaves, dont le soin relève d'Išâr-Lîm : on les lui a confiés dans le jardin du roi. »

La majeure partie en est constituée par des *âlik eqlim*, force de travail agricole indifférenciée, mais les derniers sont chargés des vergers de Bâb Nahlim¹³.

¹¹ Cf. sa lettre de *ARM VI* 76.

¹² Lire, l. 12' : *ia-ap-hu-uṣṣ-ešṣ-târ' tām-ka-rum*.

¹³ Dans la liste qui suit (S) indique le texte A.3562 republié dans «Études sur les noms propres d'époque amorrite, I», texte C, = *MARI* 8, 1997, 627; les autres références documentent des gens de statut inférieur de l'époque de Z-L.

- Abî-Lîm (S), M.13021 i, M.5475 : 9
 - Bina-Lîm (S)
 - Hammu-Lîm (S)
 - Ilî-Lîm (S)
 - Yaphur-Lîm (S), M.12462 (*mu-ki-lu*¹⁴)
 - Yadûr-Lîm (S)
 - Yakûn-Lîm (S), M.5624 iv 63, ix 5, M.13021 iv
 - Yanûh-Lîm (S)
 - Yarîm-Lîm (S), M.5726 vi
- et, ce qui n'est pas le moindre : Zimrî-Lîm (S).

On peut désormais supposer que ces noms en -Lîm révèlent un ancien statut social plus élevé, mais perdu par la suite. Ces Bédouins devaient donc avoir été des chefs de famille, ou de clan, plutôt que de simples particuliers.

Tous ces gens sont, en effet, manifestement des prisonniers, mais pas obligatoirement de guerre : ils peuvent en fait représenter le parti vaincu, en l'occurrence les forces qui avaient soutenu le roi Yahdun-Lîm, lequel fut après sa défaite devant les forces de Samsî-Addu évincé par son fils Sumû-Yamam. Le conflit entre les deux générations royales n'a pu que se doubler d'un affrontement entre clans mâr sim'al. Ces porteurs de NP en -Lîm pourraient ainsi représenter l'aristocratie de ces groupes, une fois réduits en esclavage (*sag-ir*), énumérés avec les simples *muškênum*, tous étant confondus dans le même ensemble mobilisé pour des travaux agricoles, peut-être même sur les terres qui leur avaient été confisquées.

Aucune indication explicite ne révèle leur origine, mais le fait que plusieurs NP font allusion à Dêr et, surtout, qu'un groupe non négligeable de porteurs de NP hourrites leur soit mêlé, voilà qui pourrait indiquer des Nordistes ou des gens en provenance des régions d'où sont originaires les mâr sim'al de Yagîd-Lîm et de Yahdun-Lîm.

2.3 L'emploi des NP d'Ancêtres en onomastique

D'autres noms de chefs ou de membres de familles très importantes recourent à des noms d'Ancêtres prestigieux comme Ašmat, Sumû-abum, Sumû-ila et sans doute Amînum ; ces NP peuvent également entrer dans la composition de NP complexes où ils occupent la place dévolue au théonyme. La liste en a été faite dans *La Religion en Syrie à l'époque amorrite*¹⁵. L'emploi en onomastique des noms de parenté ou d'ancêtres est un trait bien connu de l'époque amorrite.

¹⁴ Il s'agit d'un ouvrier agricole, membre d'une équipe, dont la spécificité n'apparaît pas clairement.

¹⁵ Cf. Durand 2001, 681–684.

2.4 La motivation de tels emplois

Est-il sûr que tous ces noms soient des noms de naissance¹⁶ ? On peut en douter puisque la notion de « fils aîné » semble en fait le choix ultime du père, non le constat d'un ordre naturel¹⁷.

Zimrî-Lîm lui-même s'est-il appelé à un moment Zikrî-Lîm ? On peut le croire à la lecture d'un texte de Tuttul¹⁸, mais beaucoup d'autres explications sont possibles : d'abord une simple erreur, le nouveau chef n'étant pas encore bien connu, ensuite la possibilité que tel était le nom du premier qui entra dans la ville, considéré dès lors comme le nouveau maître, etc. ; ce n'est qu'en ajout à ces hypothèses que l'on pourrait supposer l'abandon de «Zikrî-Lîm» pour «Zimrî-Lîm». Un problème supplémentaire vient de ce que, mis à part le fait que «Lîm» appartienne à une onomastique réservée, nous ne voyons pas quelle différence pouvait être sentie entre des noms comme «Zimrî-Lîm» et «Zikrî-Lîm», au cas où le porteur de cette onomastique serait un seul et même individu.

Il s'agit en tout cas bien là d'une onomastique royale car, si tous les porteurs de tels noms n'ont certainement pas été des rois, il apparaît qu'il existait au sein de la tribu des gens dénommés *mâdarum* et que c'est parmi eux qu'on choisissait les rois.

Un cas est assez net : on voit les trois fils de Zimrî-Lîm recevoir les noms de Yagîd-Lîm, Hadnî-Addu et Yahdun-Lîm et il semble que ce fut le dernier qui aurait dû devenir roi après Zimrî-Lîm. On peut remarquer en outre que des trois ancêtres, seul Yahdun-Lîm nous paraît avoir été clairement un roi. Ces NP ont été donnés en fonction de la tradition familiale : Yagîd-Lîm apparaît comme le fondateur de la tribu, ou son rassembleur, au delà duquel, en tout cas, on ne remonte pas, Hadnî-Addu était le père biologique de Zimrî-Lîm.

Les NP amorites sont souvent opaques pour ce qui est de comprendre leur sens. On peut néanmoins faire des hypothèses. Si Yagîd-Lîm contient bien un verbe signifiant «être bon»¹⁹ nous aurions là un nom de fondateur, auquel succède le nom de celui qui a installé la tribu définitivement : Yahdun-Lîm [ya'dun-li'im/lîm] peut effectivement

¹⁶ Une indication du contraire serait peut-être à trouver dans le fait que le « fils aîné » de Hammu-rabi de Babylone est mentionné comme le prince Sumû-Ditana (Ditana appartient à l'onomastique royale de Babylone) par *ARM* II 103 : 5, alors que le successeur de ce roi se nomme Samsu-ilu.na. Le premier prince a pu mourir ou être évincé, mais il a aussi pu prendre un autre nom à son avènement.

¹⁷ En ce sens, dans la tradition biblique, l'anecdote (*Gen.* xxi) relative à Ismaël (aîné) et Isaac (puîné) selon laquelle c'est Isaac qui hérite, ou celle (*Gen.* xxvii) qui concerne Esaü (aîné) par rapport à Jacob (puîné), où c'est également Jacob qui devient l'héritier, prennent toute leur valeur dans la comparaison avec l'époque ancienne.

¹⁸ Cf. pour cette question le texte de Tell Bi'a, Krebernîk 2001, n°179 : 8.

¹⁹ L'hypothèse de Huffmon 1965, 179, de dériver le NP de GWD/GDD «être bon», est meilleure que celle de Georges Dossin (NGD), car aucune attestation n'est disponible d'un **ia-ag-gi-id*-Ndiv., qui n'a jamais dû exister.

signifier « La tribu s'est sédentarisée » comportant un **hadânum* correspondant à l'arabe '*adana*, « s'installer durablement sur une pâture », ce qui rendrait compte du rôle de ce prince dans l'installation des Mâr yamîna aux Bords-de-l'Euphrate ; dans le cas où Hadnî-Addu était bien un frère de Yahdun-Lîm (ou un de ses fils ?), son nom a été construit sur la même racine [« Addu est celui qui m'a fait m'installer (sur mes terres) »], même si nous ne pouvons apprécier la différence d'expression entre le recours au dieu de la tribu (Addu) et l'utilisation du terme « tribu » lui-même (*li'mum*). Pour Zimrî-Lîm, un NP signifiant « La tribu est mon aide » rend bien compte de son histoire personnelle.

Le plus intéressant pour notre propos est de voir s'opposer ici deux niveaux d'onomastique : celui, primitif, où le chef prend un NP qui commémore son rôle dans l'histoire de la tribu, donc certainement un nom secondaire, et celui, dérivé, que par commémoration des Ancêtres on donne aux jeunes.

2.5 Une onomastique masculine

Cette onomastique officielle exclut de fait les NP féminins : une femme est en effet appelée à quitter un jour le clan ; il n'y a donc pas à la nommer en référence aux Ancêtres du groupe, mis à part les membres vivants qui sont ses contemporains, comme *abum*, *ahum* et *ummum*. On remarque, néanmoins, que les noms de l'oncle maternel (*dâdum*) ou paternel (*hâlum*) n'entrent pas dans la construction de l'onomastique féminine. Le fait que les membres du groupe où elle est adoptée ne soient pas non plus mentionnés montre que l'on n'avait pas connaissance dès le moment de sa naissance, ni dans sa jeunesse, de l'endroit où elle irait. De cette façon, les femmes porteraient généralement des noms primaires qui seraient bien ceux qui leur ont été donnés au moment de leur naissance et qui semblent surtout descriptifs.

Les deux groupes qui définissent le lieu des femmes dans le *stemma* familial amorrite sont la *sallatum* et la *nisûtum*, soit là où on les a cherchées et là où on les a mariées²⁰. La conscience du *mahraštum* (« la famille de la mère ») est un complément obligé à l'époque pour l'appréciation de la noblesse personnelle²¹.

En revanche les génériques *mâtum* et *nawûm* qui à eux deux représentent alors l'espace vécu, celui des sédentaires et des nomades, sont bien attestés pour l'onomastique féminine. Les femmes peuvent donc (et même sans doute doivent) changer de clan mais elles ne sortent pas du cadre générique décrit par les concepts de *mâtum* et de *nawûm*.

En ce qui les concerne elles devaient donc beaucoup moins pratiquer que la partie masculine de la tribu le procédé de changement de nom.

²⁰ Cf. *Annuaire du Collège de France*, Résumé des cours et travaux 2001-2002, 753.

²¹ *Annuaire du Collège de France*, Résumé des cours et travaux 2001-2002, 753.

3. La dénomination dans le monde non royal

Un document de Mari avait déjà l'intérêt de renseigner sur la dénomination d'une petite fille qui apparemment venait de naître, mais elle pouvait, vu son milieu, avoir pour père le roi de Mari lui-même et cela ne faisait pas quitter le monde particulier du Palais : il s'agit de *ARM X 94 = ARM XXVI 239 = LAPO 18 1221* où Šīmatum, future (ou déjà) reine d'Ilân-šûrâ, s'adresse à son père :

« En outre, au sujet de la fille de dame Tepâhum, dans un rêve que j'ai eu, un individu se tenait debout et disait : "La petite, fille de dame Tepâhum, on doit l'appeler 'Tagîd-nawûm'". (Il faut agir ainsi) et que le bonheur de mon Seigneur soit constant. »

Le texte avait, dès la collation qui montrait sa véritable signification, reçu une première attention dans *MARI* 3, 127–129. Il ne peut s'agir avec «Tagîd-nawûm» que d'un nom auspiceux commémorant l'affection du *nawûm*, donc de la partie transhumante de la tribu. L'ignorance où nous sommes de la situation historique précise de la lettre ne nous permet cependant pas de dire s'il s'agissait de la commémoration d'un fait réel ou si, plutôt, c'était un nom auspiceux qui tentait d'infléchir le destin dans un sens favorable à Mari (nom programmatif). Le fait que le nom soit conseillé en rêve et qu'il vise à assurer le bonheur futur du roi ferait pencher pour la seconde possibilité.

Or il existe désormais un autre passage qui semble, lui, renseigner sur l'octroi de son nom réel à un nouveau-né, à savoir *ARM XXVI 75* auquel une collation récente donne un nouveau sens. Il s'agit d'une de ces lettres d'ordre privé qui se retrouvent dans le palais suite à la main mise par le roi sur le patrimoine et les archives de ses fonctionnaires après la mort de ces derniers. Cet échange de correspondance entre le richissime marchand mariote Asqûdum, sans doute le même que le devin, un temps ministre de Zimrî-Lîm, et Hulâlum, lequel est très vraisemblablement le futur roi d'Allahad puisqu'il s'agit de quelqu'un qui résidait à Babylone mais semble aussi motivé par les affaires du Sud-Sindjar occidental, nous fait entrer dans un milieu où les relations d'affaires se doublaient de relations d'amitiés d'autant plus vives que ses membres devaient privilégier avant tout entre eux la confiance et l'amitié personnelles, comme le montre très clairement un autre dossier, celui des relations du chef des marchands mariotes Iddiyatum et de son homologue de Kanesh, selon *ARM XIII 100* et son parallèle, édités dans les *Mélanges Klaas Veenhof*, 119–132. Le texte montre que les liens d'exception qui les unissent sont particulièrement ceux d'amitié (*râmun*), ce qui indique leur parité de rang.

Or, on voit dans ce document que le fils de ce Hulâlum s'est vu appelé «Šalim-ahum» de façon à commémorer l'excellence des rapports entre les deux marchands : ce document nous montre comment se passaient dans la réalité des phénomènes que nous n'abordons qu'avec des notions *a priori* : l'enfant est bien appelé en fonction de son grand-père mais :

- (a) ce dernier est en fait le père de sa mère, non celui de son père ;
- (b) il ne s'agit donc pas de la «paponymie mécanique» que nous imaginons la plupart du temps, celle qui dupliquerait l'Asqûdum, le grand père paternel.

En fait, le NP Šalim-ahum, dans notre façon habituelle de prendre les choses, aurait été interprété comme une parole auspiciuse dite par le frère du nouveau né et ce dernier aurait dès lors été pris pour un cadet, non comme un aîné.

ARM XXVI 75²² [A.3631+M.14168]

Hulâlum à Asqûdum. Protestations d'amitié, rappels des liens familiaux, consensus sur la dignité égale des deux marchands. (Lacune). Plaintes indûes d'A. ; difficultés pour l'approvisionnement cette année en fourrures ; grâce à la confraternité des devins, de l'étain a été trouvé, mais onéreux. (Lacune).

- [a-na] às-qú-di-im qí-[bí-ma]
- 2 [um]-ma hu-la-lu-um-ma
[^du]tu ú^damar-utu da-ri-iš u₄-mi li-ba-li-tú-ka
- 4 [i-na a]h-hi-ni ša i-ba-aš-šu-ú
[at-ta] ú a-na-ku-ma ni-ir-ta-am
- 6 [ú ša ki]-ma ka-ta i-ra-am-ma-an-ni ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši
[ú ša k]i-ma ia-ti i-ra-am-mu-ka ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši
- 8 [dumu-mí-k]a dam-ti* a*-hi*-ša-lim aš*-ši* dumu* l*-kam*²³
[an-n]u-ma š[u-t]a-qú-ur-ni ma-a-tum an-ni-tum
- 10 [ù-lu] ul-li-tum i-mu-ru la tu-na-ka-ra-am-ma
[a-ia-ši]-im la ta-pu-ul ki-ma-ma^dutu
- 12 [ú^dda]-gan šu-um-ka ra-bi-i-iš ib-bu-ú-ma
[šu-mi ib]-bu-ú at-wu-ú-ka dam-qum
- 14 [li-ib-š]a-am ki-ma udu-há ma-da-a-tim
[.....] 3 me udu-há [.....]
- (...)
- [.....š]u[?] n[i[?].....]
- 2' [iš-me (?) -^dda]-gan* a-na an*-[da-ri-ig^{ki}]

²² Le texte a pu être collationné au musée de Deir ez-Zor et une attention particulière a été portée aux espacements sur la tablette. Les changements de lecture qui en résultent par rapport à l'édition de ARM XXVI/1 sont indiqués par des *. Le texte changé ou rajouté est indiqué en souligné.

²³ Ce passage avait été recopié dans l'édition de ARM XXVI/1, 215. On verra que les collations sont assez conformes à la copie, largement non comprise à l'époque.

- [o-o-o-o] *ki-a-am i-na ká-[dingir-ra^{ki}]*
 4' [*lú-tur-k*]a *iq-bé-ma i-na la m[a⁷*-ha-ar hi-še-eh-ti-ia (?)]*
[a-tu-ur (?) ša-da-a]g-da*-am* a-na hi-še-e[h-ti-k]a**
 6' [*mi-im-ma da-am-qá*]-am *ša ma-a-tim ak-ka-di-tim**
[a-na se-ri-ka a-na ma-ri^{ki} u]š-ta-bi-[l]a-ak-kum
 8' [*aš-šum ša ú-šu-u*]m*-mi* ¹*dam*-qú*-ú¹*-tim*
[i-na ša-at-ti]m a[n*-n]i*-tim* dumu ši-ip-ri-ku-nu*
 10' [*la-a*] *uš-ta-bi-la-k[um]*
[i-na ša]-at-tim an-ni-tim ú-šu-um-mu
 12' [*ma-d*]i-iš *wa-aq-ru*
[aš-šu]m 9 ma-na an-na ša ú-ša-bi-la-kum
 14' [^d*amar*]-utu *ša da-ri-iš u₄-mi ú-ba-la-tú-ka*
[lu]-ú i-di an-na šu-ú la i-ia-ú-um-ma
 16' [*an-na šu*]-ú ša 1 ^o*máš-šu-gíd-gíd qé-er-bi-ia*
[a-na] kaskal elam-ma^{ki} i-iš-še-ru i-nu-ma an-na
 18' [*i-n*]a ká-[dingir-ra]^{ki} *wa-aq-ru*
[9 ma-n]a a[n-na] dam-qá-am ša 1 ma-na kù-[babar]
 20' [*a-na te₄*]-em *lú-tur-meš ú-ša-bi-la-k[um]*
[mu] 2-kam mi-im-ma ú-ul t[u-ša-bi-la-am]

[Tranche détruite ; sans doute inscrite.]

¹Dis à Asqûdum : ²ainsi (parle) Hulâlum. ³Puissent Šamaš et Marduk^a) te faire vivre pour le cycle de (tes) jours ! ⁴Parmi les frères que nous pouvons avoir, ⁵toi et moi, nous nous aimons, l'un l'autre. ⁶Il n'y a personne qui m'aime comme toi ; ⁷il n'y a personne qui t'aime comme moi ! ⁸Ta fille est mon épouse et j'ai « levé » mon fils premier né « Ahî-šalim ». ⁹Maintenant l'estime réciproque où nous nous tenons, ce pays-ci ¹⁰ou (ce pays)-là l'ont vue : ¹¹il ne faut pas qu'elle devienne un opprobre pour moi, car tout comme Šamaš ¹²et Dagan t'ont nommé notable, ¹³ils m'ont (également) nommé ! Ta parole ¹⁴doit être ¹³de bon aloi à mon égard ! ¹⁴Le fait que de nombreux moutons... ¹⁵300 moutons...

(Lacune.)

«¹... ²[*Išme*]-Dagan^b) à An[darig...] ³...»Voilà^c) ce qu'à Babylone ⁴ton serviteur m'a dit. Or, sans même recevoir ce que je demande, ⁵encore l'année dernière, à ta demande, ⁷je t'ai fait porter chez toi, à Mari, ⁶quelque chose de précieux du pays d'Akkad. ⁸À propos des *ušumum* de bonne qualité ¹⁰que je ne t'ai pas fait porter ⁹par les messagers de chez vous, ¹¹cette année, les *ušumum* ¹²sont très rares. ¹³Relativement aux 9 mines d'étain que je t'ai

fait porter, ¹⁴ Marduk (qui te maintienne en vie à jamais !) ¹⁵ sait bien que cet étain n'était pas mien ! ¹⁶ Cet étain appartient à un devin de mon entourage. ¹⁷ On va monter une expédition en Élam. Du moment que l'étain ¹⁸ est rare en Babylonie, ²⁰ en fonction (des demandes) de tes messagers, je (ne) t'ai fait porter ¹⁹ (que) 9 mines d'étain de bonne qualité pour la valeur d'une mine d'argent. ²¹ Voilà la seconde année que tu ne me fais rien porter ...

(Lacune.)

Note : ce n'est pas une fin de lettre ; il faut donc supposer, outre la Tr. sans doute inscrite, au moins 8 lignes en deux registres sur le Côté.

- a) Hulâlum devint roi d'Allahad à la fin du règne de Zimrî-Lîm ; il faisait donc sans doute partie de la famille royale d'Andarig où Šamaš était effectivement le dieu le plus important. Il est possible que cette double mention de Šamaš et Marduk dans cette lettre fasse l'amalgame entre la religiosité de ses origines et l'endroit où il s'était installé.
- b) La restauration «Išme-Dagan» tient compte (outre la place) du fait qu'un Hulâlum est déjà envoyé comme ambassadeur à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie à Babylone par Išme-Dagan (cf. M.7412, citée *MARI* 8, 422). Ce pourrait être un rappel du moment où Hulâlum a noué des rapports avec Babylone ou de tout ce que Hulâlum n'a pas fait pour Asqûdum depuis l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie.
- c) Le *ki'âm* résomptif indique des habitudes babyloniennes, non mariotes, d'écriture.

Ce document a reçu son traitement dans *ARM XXVI*. Pour l'heure, je me contenterai de remarques sur la dévolution du NP «Šalim-ahum». Si le premier né est appelé en référence à son grand père maternel, c'est qu'ici le côté du *mahraštum* est choisi comme la référence : Asqûdum a été certainement une personnalité de tout premier plan du fait de son rôle dans l'administration d'un des principaux royaumes de son temps ; il était d'autre part apparenté à la famille royale de Yahdun-Lîm et de Zimrî-Lîm par son épouse Yamâma. Hulâlum, lui-même, si c'est bien lui qui devait devenir un jour roi d'Allahad, devait également être tenu pour un *mâdarum* et appartenir à un clan royal.

La tablette est intéressante en outre par ce qu'elle nous montre des relations familiales. On voit que l'on ne devient pas obligatoirement le *hatanum* («gendre») de quelqu'un parce que l'on épouse sa fille, mais que l'on reste son frère. On constate dans ce texte plutôt la confraternité (les *ahhû*) de gens égaux et apparentés, ceux que les âges postérieurs de Munbaqa et d'Emar devaient ériger en structure fondamentale de la société tribale alors en cours de désagrégation et dont les structures claniques ont été récupérées au niveau familial élargi.

C'est de la même façon que le roi d'Abattum, Dâdî-hadun écrivait à son suzerain Zimrî-Lîm, « je suis ton frère, puisque je suis ton oncle maternel²⁴. »

²⁴ Cf. Durand 1990, 295, n. 55.

Pour le propos actuel, on laissera de côté les aspects purement commerciaux : le texte montre de fait que les affaires de ces deux grands marchands concernaient surtout des envois de choses très précieuses : des animaux *ušumum* par exemple, ou « quelque chose de précieux » en provenance du pays d'Akkad.

Il suffit de remarquer que c'est le père qui est ici l'acteur majeur dans l'imposition du nom ; pour cela est utilisé non pas *šasûm* comme dans *ARM X 94 (LAPO 18 1212)*, mais *našûm* qui signifie au propre « lever », et dans d'autres contextes « consacrer »²⁵. Déjà « Vie nomade », A.1146 (= *LAPO 16 38*), mentionnait un autre acte symbolique de la part du père et de la mère, celui qui consistait à examiner les traits de l'enfant, sans doute pour juger de sa ressemblance avec la famille et éventuellement du fait qu'il était « de bonne race ». On peut se demander dans quelle mesure il ne s'agissait pas là d'un examen inspiré par des pratiques qui relèvent de celles qu'illustrent les textes physionomiques dès l'époque paléobabylonienne.

Le fait de « lever » l'enfant revenait à une reconnaissance officielle²⁶ et c'est à ce moment là que devait être imposé le nom personnel. Il n'est pas sûr que doive y être aussi rattaché un document comme *ARM X 7 (= LAPO 18 136)* où il est question de la mystérieuse cérémonie d'exposition de l'enfant sur une couverture et du rituel de consécration *quššudum*.

Le rôle commémoratif de la situation du père et l'importance apportée à une situation concomitante à celle de la naissance (la « confraternité » des deux marchands) doivent être soulignés. Ce n'est, en fait, qu'un trait particulier de ce que l'on constate par ailleurs, l'enfant étant appelé d'un événement concomitant de sa naissance comme Zunnân, « Né au moment d'une pluie », Burqân, (d'un coup de tonnerre), ou des appellations par les lieux de passage, comme Mut-Hatqim ou Mut-Rapšim, etc. Cette tradition est celle que reflète encore la pratique de dénomination en Syrie bédouine moderne, dont se fait l'écho le commandant Victor Müller quand il parle « des noms donnés en commémoration d'un événement survenu à l'époque de la naissance : Daham (de dahamou, ils ont attaqué). Dans la région de Deir beaucoup de garçons, nés au moment de la répression faite par la Colonne Debieuvre, en 1921, portent le nom de medfaa : canon, et un certain nombre de petites filles ont été au même moment dénommées françaisa : française²⁷. »

Il est vraisemblable qu'à cette catégorie sont à rattacher un grand nombre de NP comme Yaqqim-Addu, Nâqimum (en référence à la pratique de la vendetta), ou Yanšib-Addu, Yaššibum (en référence à l'érection d'un bétyle de culte), etc.

Tout cela constitue une très vaste question qui devrait être reprise dans un travail plus systématique. Pour l'heure, je me contenterai de souligner les protestations d'amitié qui

²⁵ La forme *aš-ši* ne peut pas être dérivée de la racine ŠS', à moins de supposer ici une variante inattestée ailleurs.

²⁶ Pour l'éventualité d'un refus par le père de reconnaître son enfant, on peut se reporter au difficile *ARM X 104 (LAPO 18 1265)*.

²⁷ Dans son ouvrage Müller 1931, 210.

sous-tendent l'échange épistolaire de *ARM XXVI 75* et j'aimerais que le dedicataire de ces lignes y trouve l'écho de l'amitié ancienne et sans nuages qui nous lie.

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J. DAVID HAWKINS

Gods of Commagene: The Cult of the Stag-God in the inscriptions of *Ancoz*

To Gernot Wilhelm, in friendship and admiration.

The Anatolian Stag-God is one of the most interesting deities, symbolizing as he does Hittite attitude to the Countryside, the “Wild”, and its animals. I have written on two aspects of the deity, first in the Fs Anna Morpurgo Davies¹, and secondly in the Fs Johan de Roos². In the first, “The Stag-God of the Countryside and related problems”, I argued that Cuneiform ^DKAL LÍL appeared in Empire Hieroglyphic as CERVUS₃.DEUS.*463(1)-*ti* and Late as *i*-*463(3) DEUS.CERVUS₃, to be read as *imrassi-* (*ku*)*runtiya-*, “(Ku)runtiya of the Field”. Confirmation of this reading was provided by a phonetic writing from the inscription ANCOZ 7, §4 (for which see below).

In my second contribution, “Tudhaliya the Hunter”, I showed that evidence from the Nişantepe seals³ indicates as readings for Cuneiform ^DKAL/Hieroglyphic (DEUS) CERVUS both *Innara* and (*Ku*)*runti(ya)*, respectively the Hittite and Luwian theonyms; and further, that Hieroglyphic inscriptions on monuments found scattered across the Anatolian plateau connect with Cuneiform texts of Tudhaliya IV, specifically the Festival for all the Tutelary Deities⁴, better designated “for all the manifestations of the Stag-God and his consort Ala”, and that these represent cultic establishments by that king marking his various hunting expeditions.

I also noted how the ancient Anatolian traditions of the cultic hunts of the Bull and the Stag were continued in the Middle-Late Bronze Age in the form of the cults of the Storm- and Stag-Gods. In this context it is interesting to observe two distinct groupings of gods found in the Iron Age Commagenian inscriptions of ANCOZ, which suggest the further persistence of this tradition.

¹ Hawkins 2004.

² Hawkins 2006a.

³ So already Hawkins 2005, VIII.3.2.

⁴ McMahon 1991.

The sites and archaeology

Archaeological exploration of Commagene until the rescue excavations along the Euphrates in the period of the construction of the Atatürk Barrage concentrated on the Hellenistic Commagenian monuments and the sacred sites of this culture. Two such sites have also yielded Neo-Hittite monuments, which is perhaps not a coincidence but a manifestation of enduring sanctity: these are Boybeypinarı and Ancoz.

In 1969 Professor Friedrich K. Dörner took me to the village Boybeypinarı to check on the find-spot of the inscribed blocks. He was rewarded for the trip by the discovery, on the information of the villagers, of a fragment of a new dexiosis relief apparently on the site of its original temenos, a hill above the village, significantly named Çaputlu Ağaç (“tree with rags”, on which scraps of material are tied for votive purposes).⁵

The BOYBEYPINARI inscriptions indicate their provenance from a sanctuary of the goddess Kubaba, where the two pairs of blocks each formed a podium for a throne for the goddess and an offering table. The circumstances in which the blocks were found show that they had been taken from their original emplacement and reused. The sanctuary was doubtless in the vicinity and may well have been on the hill, the site of the later temenos.

Ancoz too provided evidence for the existence of a Commagenian temenos. Before proceeding with this we may briefly review the other sacred Iron Age sites of Commagene. The now damaged rock relief of KARASU shows the god on the Stag, and no doubt marks a locality sacred to the deity, though the absence of an inscription precludes more detailed observations.⁶

The MALPINAR rock inscription appears to be simply a memorial text for its author Alayaza (formerly read Atayaza), a “river lord”, vassal of the Kummuean king Hattusili. Its position is doubtless connected with the beautiful adjacent spring, which may well be recognized to have been sacred, although no reference to it is found in the preserved part of the inscription.

The stele fragment ADIYAMAN 1 showed a god on a bull, described in the surviving text as “Celestial Tarhunza of the IRNILA”. It is of unknown provenance, perhaps from the neighbourhood of Adıyaman, and it doubtless marked a sanctuary of the deity, a forerunner of Jupiter Dolichenus.

The huge but now drowned site of Samsat, the Iron Age city of Kummuh, would have had many temples, but little enough in the way of monuments or epigraphic evidence was recovered.

Back to Ancoz: the site from which the ANCOZ monuments were recovered is actually a hill-top known as Han Mevkii lying about 1 km southwest of the village Ancoz (now renamed Eskitaş). The village first attracted attention by the fragment ANCOZ 1

⁵ See Dörner 1969/70; Waldmann 1973, 45–47.

⁶ See Rossner 1988, 198–201 with earlier bibliography; also Wagner et al. 1975, 10–15.

seen by Dr. Teresa Goell in 1958, built into the wall of a village house, where I saw it in 1969. By 1974 it had been taken to Adana Museum. Since its provenance had been reported as Han Mevkii, this site was examined in the course of the surveys conducted in the area to be flooded by the construction of the Atatürk (earlier “Samsat”) Barrage during the 1970s. In 1977 Mehmet Özdoğan reported a block and two fragments⁷, and in 1979 Sedat Alp conducted more detailed soundings which revealed a classical building reusing in its foundations blocks inscribed in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Alp records (1987) the discovery of only four Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments: the block seen earlier by Özdoğan (ANCOZ 5), and three others described as “very small”. It is not possible to identify from his report which among the Adıyaman Museum ANCOZ fragments these are, nor on the other hand is it clear when these fragments were brought here. The museum numbers of the individual pieces may give some indication:

ANCOZ 5	Museum no.	364
ANCOZ 10		485
ANCOZ 11		486
ANCOZ 8		682
ANCOZ 9		683
ANCOZ 1 frag. 2		684
ANCOZ 7		686

Access to the Museum register might clarify matter further.

As Alp observes the ANCOZ fragments were taken for reuse from an as yet unlocated source in the vicinity, and the existence of this sanctuary and the evidence for a local Commagenian temenos⁸ indicated that this too was a site of persistent sanctity.

The ANCOZ blocks: external forms

As noted in *CHLI* I/1, 356, the group of ANCOZ inscriptions published there was included by kind permission of Sedat Alp. This was granted when *CHLI* was already in proof and after my last visit to Adıyaman Museum in 1990. I thus have not had the opportunity to examine the blocks in detail, either their external features or the finer points of the inscriptions. My observations must therefore be taken as provisional and subject to correction in the light of further scrutiny. As an example, Massimo Poetto in the year 2000 was able to clean the block ANCOZ 5 and produce a complete and clear text of this interesting piece. His publication has been unfortunately delayed but I am grateful to him for his communication of a copy of his article in advance. He also saw

⁷ Özdoğan 1977, 100 f.

⁸ Waldmann 1973, 43 f.

and published a piece which I had not been shown, ANCOZ 11⁹. It would not be surprising if more pieces should appear.

Looking at the ANCOZ inscriptions as a group, however incomplete, we may ask ourselves what they represent and what information we can extract from an examination of their external form as well as from a reading of their texts. In form the pieces share notable characteristics, in particular that they all seem to have had approximately similar dimensions, especially height, and to have borne on at least one face two lines of inscription, topped by a narrow uninscribed band, and below an uninscribed area of approximately one third of the total height.

ANCOZ 7 (see Fig. 1)

This block alone may be seen to have been inscribed around all four sides, though it has lost its top line almost entirely, except for a few traces. The text of line 2 runs sinistrowise from the right side of side A to the left side of side D where it ends; the lost line 1 would thus have run from the left of side D to the right of side A (dextrowise), where it would have descended to line 2. In this it differs from all the other inscriptions which have sinistrowise first lines and dextrowise second, and of these only ANCOZ 1 and ANCOZ 5 have evidence of inscribed second faces in the form of traces of Hieroglyphs round the corner on their left sides. ANCOZ 7 with its four-sided inscription must have been free-standing, a base perhaps. The other inscriptions could have been more closely connected with each other.

ANCOZ 5

This has lost a big flake from its upper left side and a smaller from upper right taking either end of line 1 and the upper part of the human figure on its left side. The lower part of the block presents its left and right sides, so the left side of line 2 is preserved and its right end almost so. Its inscribed face as preserved is, since cleaning by Poetto, clear and in good condition. The relation of the standing figure to the text is unclear due to the loss from line 1. Round the left corner on the left side of the block, a preserved fragment of the bottom of line 2 reading *-sa ...-sa* shows that the inscription continued on this side at least. The beginning, descent and end of the text cannot be observed from what survives.

ANCOZ 1 (see Fig. 2)

This is made up by joining frag. 1 (the first known piece of the ANCOZ fragments, taken from the wall of the village house) to frag. 2, the lower part of a block which preserves the lower part of a lower line of an inscription for almost the full width of the

⁹ Poetto 2004a. For ANCOZ 5, now Poetto 2010.

side (right end only missing). The join, which cannot be verified physically since the pieces are in different museums, is based on the observation that frag. 1 line 2 upper fits exactly with the lower part of the line preserved on frag. 2. Round the left corner from the preserved line of frag. 2 a small piece of line 2 with Hieroglyphs shows that this side too was also inscribed. The reconstituted block is described in *CHLI* as a basin, since the interior is so worked. All sides of this “basin” are broken away except for what remains of the inscription on frag. 2, while frag. 1 represents what has been lost from the other sides. The almost fully preserved inscribed side (A) clearly continued on an inscribed side B; whether sides C and D, of which no traces have been identified, were inscribed is not known. As far as the continuity of the text goes side A line 1 left side appears to descend directly to line 2, since this gives the sequence of gods appearing also on ANCOZ 7 (cf. also ANCOZ 5). This would however place the end of the text at the traces preserved on side B, with the last sign of all being *-sa*, not an easily identifiable termination of a text. The question cannot be certainly decided on the available evidence.

ANCOZ 8

The flat top of this block is preserved but the upper part of line 1 is flaked away towards the right. The left and right sides of the block may or may not be preserved (examination required); if they are, and show that the inscription was not continued in either direction, then the inscription must have continued on elements placed on either side of the block.

ANCOZ 10 and 11 (see Fig. 3)

These fragments clearly belong together because of the unusual feature of the vertical division lines and the offerings of single gazelles to deities. Also the Museum numbers 485 and 486 suggest that they entered the Museum together, which may point to a close connection. In his publication of ANCOZ 11 Poetto draws a faint vertical left edge of the text, which is not visible in the photograph, and he assumes that the sinistroverse line 1 continued directly here on dextroverse line 2. If this is correct, a continuous text here presents a difficulty of interpretation (see below).

The placing of ANCOZ 10 close to the right side of ANCOZ 11 would seem to give a plausible text, but the pieces would need to be examined together to see whether a near join might be possible.

ANCOZ 9 (see Fig. 4)

This fragment preserves top and bottom but has lost either side. Most of line 1 has flaked away, leaving little intelligible, but line 2 shows a clear clause relevant to our present enquiry.

The ANCOZ blocks: texts

We now turn to the text of the ANCOZ blocks to consider their religious content. What immediately attracts attention is the two recurring groups of deities, the one headed by the Great Storm-God of Heaven, the other by the Stag-God and Kubaba. The first group emerged clearly with the joining of the two fragments of ANCOZ 1 to complete its line 2, and then even more clearly with the fragment ANCOZ 9 (Fig. 4), reading:

CAELUM MAGNUS (DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)*x-tà* (DEUS)*SARMA*
MONS.REX (DEUS)*á-la-sù-wa/i-ia* (DEUS)CRUS+*MI-ha* 1 GAZELLA
(ANIMAL)-*na* LIBARE-*la-i-ti*

“They will offer one gazelle to Great Tarhunza of Heaven, Hebat(?), Sarruma Mountain King, Alasuwa and the deity x”.

Notes:

Hebat(?) : in the context the otherwise unknown logogram (number now *529 following *CHLI* I/1, 24) with phonetic complement *-tà* must surely render the Storm-God’s consort Hebat who appears not uncommonly in Iron Age inscriptions.

(DEUS)CRUS + *MI* : this logogram of unknown reading adds a fifth, unidentified, deity to the group on ANCOZ 1 line 2, which breaks off with Alasuwa.

The first four deities of the group correspond to YAZILIKAYA nos. 42, 43, 44, 45, and are found elsewhere in the Iron Age in the sequences on ÇİFTLİK, §§8, 10, and KULULU 5, §1, i.e. in a Tabalian context. In these contexts it may be that Alasuwa (Allanzu) has moved from being Sarruma’s sister, as at YAZILIKAYA, to his consort.

It is however the other grouping of gods which is of greater interest. The principal form of the sequence, occurring three times, consists of the Stag-God and Kubaba, each with significant epithets, the Sun, and the gods Ikura and Tasku. This is visible on the joined **ANCOZ 1 frags. 1+2**, §3, line 1 (Fig. 2):

i-MARA (DEUS)CERVUS₃ (FEMINA)*á-la/i* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-pa* (line 2, continuity ?) (DE[US]S)OL (DEUS)*i¹-ku+ra/i* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia-ha* ... (sequence dative)

also ANCOZ 7, §4:

i-MARA^{+ra/i}-*sa-na* (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ia á-la/i* (DEUS)AVIS (DEUS)SOL-*ti*
(DEUS)*i-ku+ra/i* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku* (sequence dative)

also ANCOZ 10, §1 (restored)(Fig. 3):

[*i-MARA* (DEUS)CERVUS₃ *á-la/i* (DEUS)*ku*⁺²AVI]S (DEUS)SOL
(DEUS)*i-ku+ra/i-na* (DEUS)*tá-sà-ku-ha* (sequence accusative).

Notes:

i-MARA(^{+ra/i}-*sa-na*) : evidence has now accumulated for reading L.463(3) as a logogram-rebus (*i*)*MARA* and the identification of the Stag-God's epithet as *imrassi*- (dat. *imrassan* as on ANCOZ 7, §4), "of the Field" (= Empire Cuneiform ^DKAL LÍL).¹⁰

(FEMINA)*á-la/i* : new evidence has emerged that the signs read *ta*₅ (L.172) and *ta*₄ (L.416) in Empire Hieroglyphic represent actually (*a*)*la* and (*a*)*li* respectively.¹¹ Further, it is now convincingly argued that the Late readings of the two signs have fallen together as *la/i*¹². Indeed this very occurrence is one of the key pieces of evidence: while the former reading ATA was unintelligible, a reading *ala*, especially with the occasional addition (FEMINA), is instantly recognizable as *Ala*, the Empire Period consort of the Stag-God, written in Cuneiform ^{D.MUNUS}*a-la-a-*, Hieroglyphic *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).L.461.¹³ Clearly we have here a syncretism of Kubaba with the Stag-God's consort Ala.

Ikura, Tasku : deities attested only in these ANCOZ contexts. The identification of Tasku with the Hittite attested body-part ^{UZU}*tašku-*, whether "scrotum"¹⁴, or "thigh-bone"¹⁵, is not obviously appropriate, unless perhaps the deities represent divinized parts of the dismembered Stag as shown on such cultic scenes as that of the Schimmel rhyton.

¹⁰ Hawkins 2004, 355–369.

¹¹ See Hawkins 2005, 289 f., Excursus 1; Hawkins 2006a, 62 f.

¹² Rieken – Yakubovich 2010.

¹³ See Rieken – Yakubovich 2010, para. 2.3; and cf. Hawkins 2006a, 56 f.

¹⁴ Poetto 2004b.

¹⁵ Kloekhorst 2008, s.v.

A somewhat different Stag-God + Kubaba grouping is found on ANCOZ 5, where the Sun and Ikura are omitted and the sequence ends with a mountain, Hurtula, written as elsewhere (MONS) *hu+ra/i-tu-la-* (MONS) *wa/i-ti-*, “(Mt.) Hurtula the Mountain”. In fact the text of this block appears to be mainly concerned with this mountain. The reference “*this* Hurtula Mountain” indicates that it is the relatively insignificant hill on which Han Mevkii is located, a sacred precinct of the Stag-God, rather than the later great sacred mountain of Commagene, Nemrut Dağ¹⁶.

It was noted above that **ANCOZ 10 and 11** (Fig. 3) appear to belong closely together and might be juxtaposed to produce an almost composite text, which would run as follows:

- §1. (ANCOZ 10) [... *i-MARA* (DEUS)CERVUS₃ *á-la/i* (DEUS)*ku+²AVI*]S
(DEUS)SOL (DEUS)*i-ku+ra/i-na* (DEUS)*tá-sà-ku-ha* | *ARHA* (L.69) *la-la-ti*
- §2. [... (ANCOZ 11) ...] x-z [i/a] (SOLIUM) *i-sà-nu-wa/i-ti*
- §3. DEUS-*ni-sa-ha-wa/i* REL-*ia* 1 B[OS] (ANIMAL) || 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
sa₅+ra/i-la-i-ti
- §4. (DEUS)*i-ia-ia* (DEUS)*tá-ka-ma-na-ia* (DEUS)*i-su-* [... (ANCOZ 10) ...]
1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
- §5. (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia* 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
- §6. *hu-ra/i-tu-la-wa/i-tá* (MONS) *wa/i-ti* REL-*i-sa i-MARA* [(DEUS)CE]RVUS₃
[...

- §1. ... the Stag-God of the Field, Ala-Kuba]ba, the Sun, Ikura and Tasku he/they will take away
- §2. ... (continuity?) they will seat.
- §3. and as(?) of(?) the god one ox (continuity?) (and) one gazelle they will offer,
- §4. to the gods Ea, Takamana, Isu [... (continuity?) ...] one gazelle,
- §5. to the god Tasku one gazelle.
- §6. To (from?) Hurtula Mountain (he) who the Stag-[God] of the Field [...

Notes:

See observations in my edition Hawkins 2000, 360.

Verbs : *la-la-ti*, *i-sà-nu-wa/i-ti* may be 3 sing. or plur. (pres.); *sa₅+ra/i-la-i-ti* however is plur., as also on ANCOZ 1, §2, and PONERE-*wa/i-ti*, §1.

DEUS-*ni-sa-ha-wa/i* REL-*ia* : difficult to construe if there is indeed continuity between lines 1 and 2, in which case Poetto’s interpretation would seem the only one possible.

¹⁶ As I considered possible, Hawkins 2000, 358.

The juxtaposition of these two pieces of text produces reasonably plausible sense, though caution is necessary where continuity is not assured. The appearance of the three otherwise unexpected gods could also be argued against too close a linkage of context.

The information from the texts

Thus we have seen that ANCOZ 1 presents the two groups of gods, that of the Stag-God and Kubaba and that of the Great Storm-God of Heaven, and the latter recurs on ANCOZ 9. Both groups in these contexts seem to receive the offering of one gazelle. The Stag-God with Kubaba group, including the Sun, Ikura and Tasku, appears further on ANCOZ 7 and ANCOZ 10; and minus the Sun and Ikura but with the Hurtula Mountain it appears on ANCOZ 5, which seems mainly concerned with the Mountain. Hurtula also occurs on ANCOZ 3, ANCOZ 8 and ANCOZ 10 in fragmentary contexts. Offerings of single gazelles also are found on ANCOZ 11 and ANCOZ 10. What is going on?

The only piece to preserve a wider context is ANCOZ 7, the block preserving one line of inscription round all four sides but having lost its first line except for traces. The text as preserved is a protective curse against damage to elements of a religious foundation set up by the ruler Suppiluliuma, to be identified as the Assyrian-attested *Ušpilulume* of Kummuh, minimum dates 805-773 B.C. This gives a general idea of what the ANCOZ monuments represent. It is probable that the lost line 1 detailed the establishment of the foundation protected by the curse of line 2.

ANCOZ 7 (Fig. 1)

- §1. ...
- §2. |wa/i-za | za-a DEUS-ni-ia-za [...]-la-[...]za [...
- §3. DEUS-na-za-pa-wa/i [...] x-pi-za NEG₂-a REL-ha i-zi-ia-ti
- §4. |za-zi-i-pa-wa/i URBS-ni-i-zi-' DEUS-na-si-i DOMUS.PONERE-ti-zi
za-a-zi-ha u-su[?]-PRAE-ia-zi REL-i-sa i-MARA+ra/i-sa-na (DEUS)
CERVUS₃-ia á-la/i (DEUS) AVIS (DEUS) SOL-ti (DEUS) i-ku+ra/i (DEUS)
ta-sà-ku ARHA | CAPERE-i
- §5. ni-pa-ta REL+ra/i ... FINES-hi-zi REL-sa za-la-na PONERE-wa/i-i
- §6. mu-wa/i PURUS.FONS-MI 'REL¹-zi | pi-ia-ha
- §7. ni-pa ku-ma-sa-tara/i-na REL-na za-ti-ia-za URBS+MI-na-za CUM-ni
i-zi-i-ha
- §8. wa/i-na | NEG₂ REL-sà | i-zi-i-ti
- §9. ni-pa | za MENSA 'REL¹-sa i-MARA+ra/i (DEUS) CERVUS₃ á-la/i (DEUS¹)
AVIS (DEUS) ta-sà-ku-ha MALUS-la/i-tara/i-ti PRAE-ni-ha CAPERE-i

- §10. *ni-pa-wa/i-tà* ARHA MALLEUS
 §11. *ni-pa-wa/i-tà a-tá i-ma-ni-ti*
 §12. *ni-pa* LOCUS-*la/i-za* [(SA₄)] *sa-ni-ti-i*
 §13. *ni-pa-[wa/i]-ta* PURUS.FONS-MI ¹HATTI + *LI tá-ti-ia-za* | INFANS-*ni-za-ha á-la/i-ma-za* ARHA MALLEUS-*i*
 §14. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i* | *za-zi* DEUS LIS-*la/i/u-zi* | *á-sa-tu-u*
- §1. ...
 §2. and for us this divine ... [...]
 §3. but does not make any ... for the gods.
 §4. These cities, habitations(?) of the gods, and these USUPARIYA's he who takes away from the Stag-God of the Field, Ala-Kubaba, the Sun, Ikura (and) Tasku,
 §5. or if ... anyone puts ZALAN the boundaries,
 §6. which I Suppiluliuma have given,
 §7. or the sacrament, which I have celebrated for these cities,
 §8. (he) who does not celebrate it,
 §9. or takes this table from before the Stag-God of the Field, Ala-Kubaba and Tasku with wickedness
 §10. or smashes it/them,
 §11. or ANTA IMANI's it/them,
 §12. or overturns (it/them) in (its/their) place,
 §13. or smashes the name of Suppiluliuma (and) Hattusili, of father and son,
 §14. for him let these gods be the prosecutors!

Notes:

- §4. DOMUS.PONERE-*ti-zi* : sense “habitations” guessed from combination of context and content of the double logogram.
- u-su*[?]-PRAE-*ia-zi* : inspection of the photograph suggests that -*su*[?]- is the possible reading (collation necessary). A word *usupariya-* could be connected with *u-su-pa-ta-tà-* / -*su-pa-ti-* (HAMA 4, §§11, 14) applied to a sacrificial ox¹⁷.

¹⁷ See Poetto 1979, 671–678.

§5. REL+*ra/i* ... REL-*sa* : double relative considered unclear in my edition, but could simply be understood as “if ... anyone”.

zalan tuwa- : action relating to frontiers, see now TELL AHMAR 6, §16¹⁸.

§§10, 11. *ni-pa-wa/i-tà* : use of -*tà* indicates an analysis *nipa-wa-ada* according to Elisabeth Rieken¹⁹. Since -*ada* can mean “it” or “they/them”, it is not certain whether it refers to the table or the gods (perhaps the former is more likely).

This text shows that the Stag-God group had received as dedications “cities” (perhaps rather “villages”) as “habitations(?)”, along with *usupariya*’s, perhaps sacrificial oxen. These have marked “boundaries”, which are liable to infringement, and an established “sacrament” (*kumastri-*), which may be neglected, also an offering table, which perhaps stood on the block ANCOZ 7 itself. We may envisage this as the establishment by the ruler of cult-centres of the Stag-God, his consort and entourage, across the landscape of Commagene, endowed by the donation of communities, demarcated by boundaries, for the maintenance of the cult and centring on an offering table. Probably Ancoz (Han Mevkii = Hurtula Mountain?) represents just such a cult-centre and the remains of its installations, as also Boybeyınarı (Çaputlu Ağaç), and their sanctity persisted into later periods, as shown by the evidence for the existence of Commagenian temenos sites from both localities. It may well be that other such temenos precincts go back at least to Iron Age cult centres of the Stag-God.

In my contribution to *Fs de Roos*, “Tudhaliya the Hunter”²⁰, I argued that several monuments of Tudhaliya IV found at various localities on the Anatolian plateau represented the king’s establishment of cult precincts of the Stag-God on mountains where he had hunted, and that these could be identified with manifestations of the Stag-God and Ala listed in the “Festival for all the Tutelary Deities”: specifically the EMİRGAZİ monuments, representing ^{HURSAG}*Sarpas* ^DKAL-*ri*, also ^D*a-a-laš ša* ^{HURSAG}*Sarpa* (Arisama Dağ); the KARAKUYU block, ^DKAL ^{HURSAG}*Sunnara* (Uzun Yayla); and the ALTINYAYLA stele ^DKAL ^{URU/HURSAG}*Sarissa* (Karatonus Dağ). For ^{URU}*Alatarmas* ^DKAL (also ^D*Ala*) I pointed out that the toponym *ta₅-tara/i-ma* (URBS) of KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA should now be read *Alatarma*, which could indicate the existence of an Alatarma near Köylütolu Yayla (between Konya and Afyon) besides the eastern Alatarma known to be in the Euphrates area. The Stag-God’s Alatarma might be

¹⁸ Hawkins 2006b, 25 f.

¹⁹ Rieken 2008.

²⁰ Hawkins 2006a.

either: that is, either west in the neighbourhood of Köylütolu Yayla, where the inscription would mark another centre of the Stag-God cult; or east, on one side or other of the Euphrates, where Tudhaliya fled following his disastrous defeat at Nihriya. If the latter is the case, we might envisage the location of Alatarma in the territory of the later Commagene-Kummuh (= Hittite Kummaha?), and some continuity from the Late Bronze Age of Tudhaliya IV to the Iron Age sites of the Kummuh dynasty. However this may be, it seems likely that Tudhaliya's hunting cult of the Stag-God was reflected in the Commagenian cult centres of which Ancoz is the best known and documented example.

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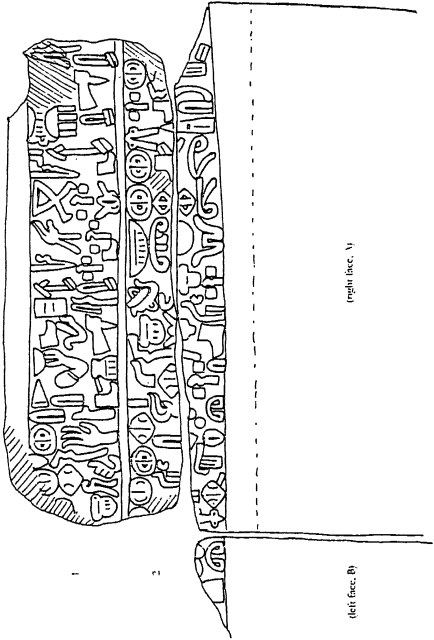
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ANCOZ 1 a+b



ANCOZ 9

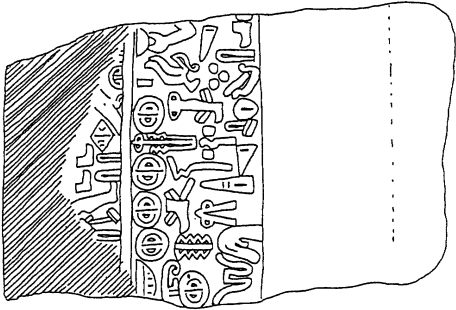
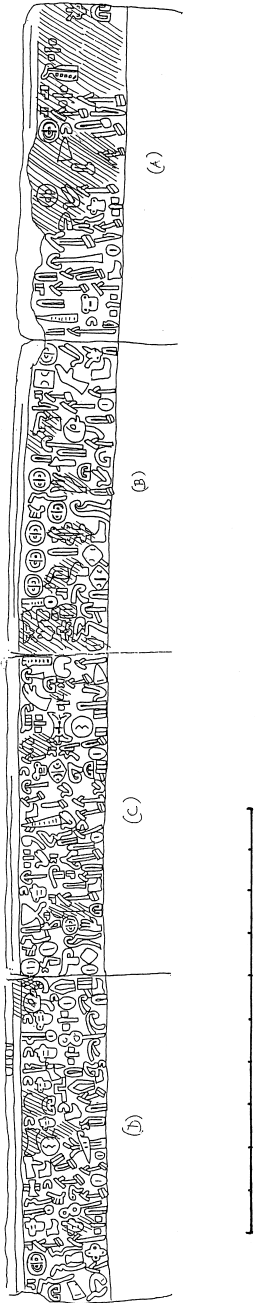


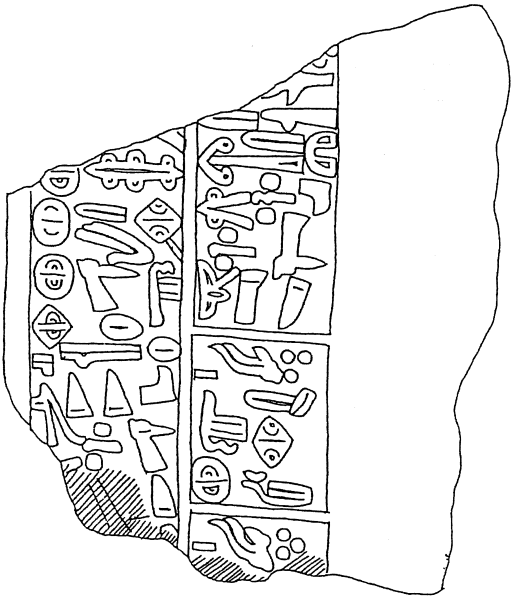
Fig. 2

Fig. 4

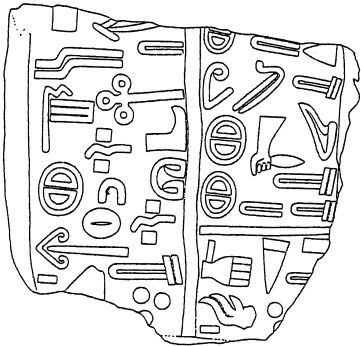
ANCOZ 7



ANCOZ 10



ANCOZ 11



Urbanisierung, Stadtplanung und Wirtschaftsweise in „marginalen Gebieten“ Nordostsyriens

Das Beispiel von Tell Chuera sowie erste Überlegungen zum Transfer dieser Siedlungsweise nach Westsyrien

Die Möglichkeit einer indigenen Entwicklung von städtischen Siedlungen in den heute ariden oder semi-ariden Gebieten Nordostsyriens hat bisher nur wenig Beachtung gefunden. Doch geht aus der intensiven Grabungstätigkeit der beiden vergangenen Jahrzehnte hervor, dass es dort offenbar bereits zu Beginn des 3. Jts. v. Chr., oder sogar noch früher, einen eigenständigen Urbanisierungsprozess gegeben hat.

Zu diesen frühen urbanen Zentren gehört auch eine Gruppe von Siedlungen, die unter dem Namen „Kranzhügel“ zusammengefasst werden. Sie entstehen zunächst in der nordostsyrischen Djezirah (Abb. 1) und weisen eine erhöhte „Oberstadt“ und eine niedriger gelegene „Unterstadt“ auf, die sich nahezu kreisförmig um die „Oberstadt“ legt und ihrerseits von massiven, wallartigen Erhebungen eingefasst wird (Abb. 2).

Die jüngsten Grabungen in Tell Chuera haben darüber hinaus gezeigt, dass es sich bei der Unterstadt offenbar um ein sekundäres Phänomen einer Stadterweiterung handelt, die nicht bei allen Siedlungen dieses Typs der „runden Städte“ auftritt, sondern nur bei einem Teil zu beobachten ist. Nach den Grabungsergebnissen in Tell Chuera zu urteilen, ist diese Stadterweiterung in die Frühe Bronzezeit II, ca. 2.700 v. Chr., zu datieren. Eine vergleichbare Struktur, d.h. eine doppelte Umwallung, findet sich bei einem Teil der Siedlungen in der westlichen Djezirah (z.B. Tell Beydar, Tell Raġa Kebira, Tell Abu Šakhat sowie Tell Muazzar und Tell Malhat ed-Deru südlich des Djebel al Abd Aziz, vgl. Abb. 1)¹; ob diese äußere Gestalt dort ebenfalls auf eine Stadterweiterung zurückgeht, ist zwar wahrscheinlich, jedoch bisher archäologisch nicht nachgewiesen. Dagegen sind für Tell Leilan und Hamoukar, die beide allerdings nicht zu den „Kranzhügeln“ gehören, etwa zur gleichen Zeit jeweils Stadterweiterungen belegt².

Durch die umfangreichen, von der DFG geförderten Ausgrabungen der vergangenen 10 Jahre konnten die wesentlichen chronologischen und strukturellen Fragen in Zusammenhang mit der Siedlung der Frühen Bronzezeit (Tell Chuera IA-ID) geklärt und

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¹ Dazu demnächst Meyer i. V.

² Weiss 1990a, 387–407; Weiss 1990b, 193–218; Ur 2003, 57–88.

das Verständnis der Gesamtanlage in ihrer zeitlichen Entwicklung und räumlichen Struktur erheblich gefördert werden³. Der Schwerpunkt der Ausgrabungen lag vor allem in der großflächigen Freilegung der Siedlung aus dem 3. Jt. v. Chr.; nur in diesem Zeitraum war die Ruine ganzflächig besiedelt. Auf der Basis dieser Arbeiten ist es jetzt möglich, weiterreichende Aussagen über Struktur und Funktion der Siedlung – vor allem der Oberstadt – während einzelner Abschnitte der Frühen Bronzezeit zu treffen.

Vor allem die nahezu flächendeckend durchgeführten geophysikalischen Messungen (Abb. 3) sowie die aufgrund dieser Bilder gezielt angelegten Ausgrabungen⁴ haben gezeigt, dass der jüngsten Stadtanlage dieser Periode, **Tell Chuera ID** (ab ca. 2450 v. Chr.), mit Sicherheit eine umfassende Planung zugrunde liegt⁵ (Abb. 4).

An stadtplanerischen Elementen lassen sich u.a. nennen:

- die Gliederung in Ober- und Unterstadt sowie deren jeweilige Befestigung
- die interne Organisation der Siedlung mit den administrativen Bauten unmittelbar entlang der Mittelachse der Oberstadt, während die Wohnbebauung sich zu beiden Seiten dieser Achse hinter den öffentlichen Bauten befindet
- der zentrale Platz in der Mitte der Oberstadt mit dem unmittelbar daran anschließenden "Tempelkomplex S" (Steinbau VI, Abb. 5-6),
- sowie das radiale Erschließungsschema.

Verlauf und Struktur der äußeren Stadtmauer und deren bauliche Veränderungen im Verlaufe des 3. Jts. v. Chr. sind ebenfalls durch mehrere Grabungen (Bereich Z, U, W) erfasst. Mit Sicherheit hat die Stadtmauer, zumindest in den jüngeren Phasen (TCH IC-ID), außen ein steil abfallendes Glacis besessen, das in den Bereichen W und Z nachgewiesen werden konnte. In der Periode ID wurde aber auch innen eine Art Glacis angelegt, das ältere Bausubstanz überbaut und offensichtlich nach einer massiven Zerstörung der Stadt zu Beginn der Periode ID (auch in der Oberstadt in verschiedenen Bereichen (A, B, T) nachgewiesen) zur Verstärkung diente.

Die Fragen nach dem Zeitpunkt der Gründung und der Struktur in den älteren Perioden sowie die nach der Entwicklungsgeschichte der urbanen Siedlung können jetzt zumindest teilweise beantwortet werden (Abb. 7).

Die Befestigung der Oberstadt erfolgte bereits in der Gründungsphase der Siedlung, **Tell Chuera IA**, die anhand von Radiokarbondatierungen auf ca. 3100 v. Chr. festge-

³ Erste Ergebnisse liegen jetzt in einem umfangreichen Vorbericht vor, Meyer 2010.

⁴ Vgl. Meyer 2007a, 223–236.

⁵ Dazu Meyer 2007b, 129–142.

legt werden kann. Zu dieser Zeit (FBZ I) war zwar nur der Bereich der späteren Oberstadt besiedelt, d.h. jedoch immerhin eine Fläche von ca. 50ha. Von den oben erwähnten stadtplanerischen Elementen lassen sich bereits der zentrale Platz, der „Anton Moortgat-Platz“ sowie die zentrale Achse, die mitten durch die (spätere) Oberstadt verläuft, erkennen. Der Platz selbst wird von Privathäusern begrenzt.

Die Gründung der äußeren Stadtmauer, und damit die Stadterweiterung, erfolgte ganz offensichtlich bereits in der **Periode IB** um etwa 2700 v. Chr. (FBZ II); die innere Stadtmauer verlor damit ihre fortifikatorische Funktion und wurde (zumindest partiell) zunächst als Bestattungsort genutzt und ab der Periode Tell Chuera IC in die Bebauung integriert. Außerdem wurde spätestens in dieser Periode das radial auf das Zentrum ausgerichtete Straßensystem der Oberstadt angelegt (Bereich K). Offenbar war keine umfassende Neuorganisation der Siedlung damit verbunden, da die Gasse A auf ältere Parzellengrenzen Rücksicht nimmt; zudem verläuft die Abfolge der Bauphasen bei der älteren Bausubstanz kontinuierlich, ohne erkennbare Brüche.

In der Periode **Tell Chuera IC** (FBZ III) setzt dann ein weiterer umfassender Ausbau der Stadt ein. Für diesen Zeitabschnitt ist die Errichtung der Tempelbauten in den Bereichen A und S und das damit verbundene Konzept der „Heiligen Bezirke“ belegt. Während für die Steinbauten I (Bereich A) und III (Bereich D) dieser Bauzustand nur durch kleine Sondagen bzw. eine ältere Treppenanlage gesichert ist, kann für den Tempel S (Steinbau VI) jetzt eine Abfolge von fünf Bauschichten mit jeweils mehreren Bauphasen nachgewiesen werden, die einen Zeitraum von Tell Chuera IC bis IE umfassen; Hinweise auf Vorläuferanlagen liegen bisher nicht vor; es sind zwar ältere, zur Periode IB gehörige Architekturreste vorhanden, ihre Zugehörigkeit zu einem älteren Sakralbau ist aber nicht gesichert.

Östlich und westlich der zentralen Achse finden sich, wie in den älteren Perioden, auch weiterhin Privathäuser, die einer kontinuierlichen Veränderung unterworfen waren. Es wurde deutlich, dass es sich bei den Grundstücken nicht um unveränderliche Parzellen handelt, sondern dass sie sich von Bauphase zu Bauphase durch Zusammenlegung bzw. Abtrennung von Räumen oder Hofbereichen vergrößern oder verkleinern konnten. Dementsprechend konnte auch kein idealtypischer Hausgrundriss, sondern vielmehr sehr unterschiedliche „Haustypen“ festgestellt werden⁶.

Spätestens in dieser Periode setzt die intensive Bebauung der Unterstadt ein und sie wurde durch ein Netz geplant angelegter Straßen erschlossen, die zum Teil den Verlauf der Straßen der Oberstadt wieder aufnehmen. Mit der gebotenen Vorsicht darf anhand der Grabungsbefunde und der geophysikalischen Prospektion auf eine vorwiegende Nutzung der Unterstadt für die Produktion und zur Lagerhaltung geschlossen werden (Bereich W). Für das Ende dieser Periode liegt jetzt eine relativ exakte Radiocarbondatierung vor: 2465 v. Chr. $\pm$ 20 vor (Getreide und Pappel).

⁶ Das Vorkommen von standardisierten Grundstücksgrößen lässt sich in Tell Chuera nur für eine Bauphase (Tell Chuera, Bereich K, Bauphase 7, FBZ III) belegen, Pfälzner 1997, 239–265; Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 1997, 1–13; vgl. jetzt Hempelmann 2010, 35–81.

Hinzuweisen ist schließlich noch einmal auf das Vorkommen einer ausgedehnten, bereits 2007 freigelegten Außenstadt (Abb. 8), nördlich vom sakral genutzten Außenbau; auch hier finden sich ausschließlich Produktionsstätten sowie ein vom Wadi kommender Kanal. Wenn die von Alfonso Archi vorgeschlagene Gleichsetzung von Tell Chuera mit Abarsal⁷ tatsächlich zutreffend ist, könnte es sich dabei um den Platz der Handelsniederlassung (*kar abarsal*) handeln.

Der inzwischen weitgehend abgeschlossene Survey in der Umgebung von Tell Chuera hat den Nachweis eines dichten Siedlungsnetzes erbracht, das zu Beginn, um 3000 v. Chr., bereits mindestens dreischichtig – Tell Chuera (80ha), Kharab Sayyar (40ha), Mgeddi (1ha) –, spätestens ab der Periode Tell Chuera ID (FBZ IVB) jedoch in jedem Fall sogar vierschichtig war.

Für diese Periode (ID) ist auch die Anlage von Kanälen in der Umgebung nachgewiesen, die die gesamte Umgebung durchziehen. Sie nutzen entweder kleine Seitenwadis oder verbinden die größeren Wadis miteinander. Dieser Befund lässt den Schluss zu, dass es im 3. Jts. v. Chr. deutlich mehr Wasser gegeben haben muss, als bisher angenommen. Die großen Wadis, an denen die Siedlungen der ersten und zweiten Kategorie liegen, wie das Wadi Tell Chuera oder das Wadi Dehliz, dürften das gesamte Jahr über Wasser geführt haben. An den Kanälen finden sich in mehr oder weniger regelmäßigen Abständen kleine Gehöfte (unter 0,5ha); daneben gibt es relativ viele kleinere Siedlungen (Dörfer) von 2-5ha, die bis in unmittelbarer Nähe der zentralen Orte wie Tell Chuera (1. Kategorie) und Kharab Sayyar (2. Kategorie, ohne Stadterweiterung) vorkommen.

Grundsätzlich ist mit einer zumindest begrenzten Bewässerungswirtschaft zu rechnen, ein Befund der jetzt auch durch die Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera selbst bestätigt wird. Dort haben sich, vor allem für die Perioden ID und IC nachgewiesen, zahlreiche Abwasserkanäle gefunden, die z.T. erhebliche Ausmaße besessen haben und die offenbar für die Entwässerung gesorgt haben (Abb. 9).

Die Felder wurden offenbar primär von außerhalb der Stadt lebenden Personen bewirtschaftet, die auch die Pflege der Kanäle übernommen haben dürften. Für den Ernteeinsatz konnten auch große Teile der Stadtbevölkerung verpflichtet werden. Dies geht aus den Funden von Sicheln und anderen Geräten in nahezu jedem Haus hervor. Den größten Teil des Jahres stand die Stadtbevölkerung aber anderen Aufgaben zur Verfügung: Bau der Stadtmauer(n), öffentliche Bauten wie Palast, aufwendige Tempelbezirke, aber auch Produktion (Getreide, Textilien) für den Eigenbedarf sowie Erwerb von Rohstoffen und Fertigprodukten.

Die Organisation von Stadt und Umland bedurfte zweifellos einer einflussreichen, starken politischen Führerschaft, die spätestens ab der Periode ID (FBZ IVA) im Palast zu verorten ist, vermutlich aber bereits von Beginn an vorhanden war. Nur so lassen sich die stadtplanerischen Elemente, der notwendige Arbeitseinsatz für die öffentlichen

⁷ Archi 1998, 4.

Bauten sowie für die Organisation der Siedlung und die Nutzung der Umwelt nachvollziehen.

Etwa um die Mitte des 3. Jts. v. Chr. zeichnen sich bedeutende Veränderungen ab: in Tell Chuera weisen umfassende Zerstörungshorizonte auf massive Einflüsse von außen hin und etwa gleichzeitig tritt dieser Siedlungstyp der „Runden Städte“ weiter südlich, im Gebiet östlich von Ebla auf (Tell al Rawda⁸ (Abb. 10), Tell esh-Sha'irat⁹ (Abb. 11), Khirbet al-Qasr (Abb. 12), Qatna (Abb. 13)).

Von einem großen Teil dieser Siedlungen liegen inzwischen auch die Ergebnisse der geophysikalischen Prospektionen vor, die – zusammen mit den Ergebnissen der Ausgrabungen – eine Rekonstruktion der Siedlungsstruktur erlauben.

Gemeinsam ist den betreffenden Siedlungen ihre Lage in heute marginalen Zonen mit geringen und wechselnden Niederschlägen (Badiya) und eine vergleichbare Morphologie – u.a. runde Siedlungsform, geplantes, radial verlaufendes Straßennetz, in dem öffentliche und private Bauten in jeweils bestimmten Siedlungsbereichen angeordnet sind, Tempelform (Antentempel), Befestigungsmauern. Bei allen handelt es sich jeweils um Neugründungen (FBZ III/IV, ca. 2450 v. Chr.); es findet sich jedoch in diesen Siedlungen keine Unterteilung in Ober- und Unterstadt. Während die Siedlungsform somit weitgehend derjenigen im Norden entspricht, besitzt die materielle Kultur deutliche Unterschiede, die nach Westen (Ebla) weisen. Für diese Ausbreitung sind bisher mit Sicherheit keine Gründe anzuführen. Diese Forschungslücke soll durch ein ANR/DFG-Projekt geschlossen werden.¹⁰

Ich möchte abschließend hier eine Arbeitshypothese anbieten, die zumindest den bisher vorliegenden Funden und Befunden gerecht wird. Ausgangspunkt dafür ist die gerade erwähnte Beobachtung, dass die materielle Kultur in den südlich gelegenen Siedlungen, wie Rawda, Sha'irat usw., derjenigen von Ebla (und Hama) entspricht, die Siedlungsform und die architektonische Gestaltung dagegen nach Norden (Tell Chuera) weist. Die in den letzten Jahren verstärkt durchgeführten interdisziplinären Arbeiten, vor allem die geoarchäologischen Untersuchungen (Geophysik, Geomorphologie, Bodenkunde, Archäozoologie, Archäobotanik) in Tell Chuera und Tell Rawda und der jeweiligen Umgebung haben neue Einblicke in die strukturelle und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung dieser Siedlungen vermittelt. Es besteht meiner Meinung nach daher die Möglichkeit eines Transfers – freiwillig oder unter Druck – von Kenntnissen des Managements der Umwelt, der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung marginaler Gebiete aus der Djezirah, wo sie bereits vorhanden waren, in das Gebiet von Ebla, wo sie, wie Untersuchungen der natürlichen Umwelt in der Umgebung von Rawda ergeben haben, in dieser Zeit etabliert werden.

⁸ Gondet – Castel 2004, 95–112; Castel – Peltenburg 2007, 601–616.

⁹ Al-Maqdissi 1995, 196–198; Al-Maqdissi 2008, 5–10.

¹⁰ Antragsteller: Corinne Castel, Lyon und Jan-Waalke Meyer, Frankfurt, Kooperationspartner: Ph. Quenet, Straßburg.

Der Zeitpunkt dieser Neugründungen entspricht etwa dem Beginn der Vorherrschaft von Ebla in Nordostsyrien¹¹. In den Texten, die dieses Ausgreifen Eblas nach Norden und Nordosten belegen, sollte auch der antike Name von Tell Chuera zu finden sein. Falls es sich dabei tatsächlich um Abarsal, einem urbanen Zentrum und Fürstentum, handeln sollte, wie A. Archi vorschlägt¹², dann wäre der Vertrag¹³ zwischen Ebla und Abarsal noch einmal in diesem Sinne zu untersuchen.

Mit der noch gebotenen Vorsicht möchte ich daher die Einführung einer geplanten Siedlungsweise – Stadtplanung – sowie die systematische Landnahme und Nutzung der ariden Gebiete gegen Ende des 4. Jts. v. Chr. im Gebiet von Tell Chuera (Djezirah) vorschlagen; die Übernahme dieser Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsweise in Westsyrien (durch Ebla) erfolgte dann um die Mitte des 3. Jts. v. Chr.

Die hier vorgestellten Ergebnisse basieren auf einer Zusammenarbeit von Einzelpersonen und Institutionen, ohne die unsere Arbeiten in Tell Chuera und Umgebung nicht möglich gewesen wären. An erster Stelle sei in diesem Zusammenhang die großzügige logistische Unterstützung des DGAM, vor allem durch Dr. Michel al-Maqdissi und Dr. Bassam Jamous erwähnt. Aber auch unseren zahlreichen lokalen Arbeitern ist ebenso zu danken, wie den syrischen und europäischen Mitarbeitern. Die finanzielle Unterstützung wurde vorwiegend durch Mittel der DFG gewährleistet, daneben aber auch durch die Oppenheim-Stiftung und den Förderverein ENKI. Zahlreiche Einzelheiten des präsentierten Vortrags basieren auf den Ergebnissen von Promotions- und Forschungsarbeiten, die zum Teil noch nicht publiziert sind; namentlich erwähnt seien an dieser Stelle Ralph Hempelmann und Christian Falb, aber auch Tobias Helms, Veronika Kudlek, Olesia Kromberg, Lotte Dross und Alexander Tamm. Ihnen allen sei ganz ausdrücklich gedankt.

¹¹ Archi 2003, 1–43; vgl. Pettinato 1980, 231–245.

¹² Archi 1998, 4.

¹³ Sollberger 1980; Archi 1989, 13 f.

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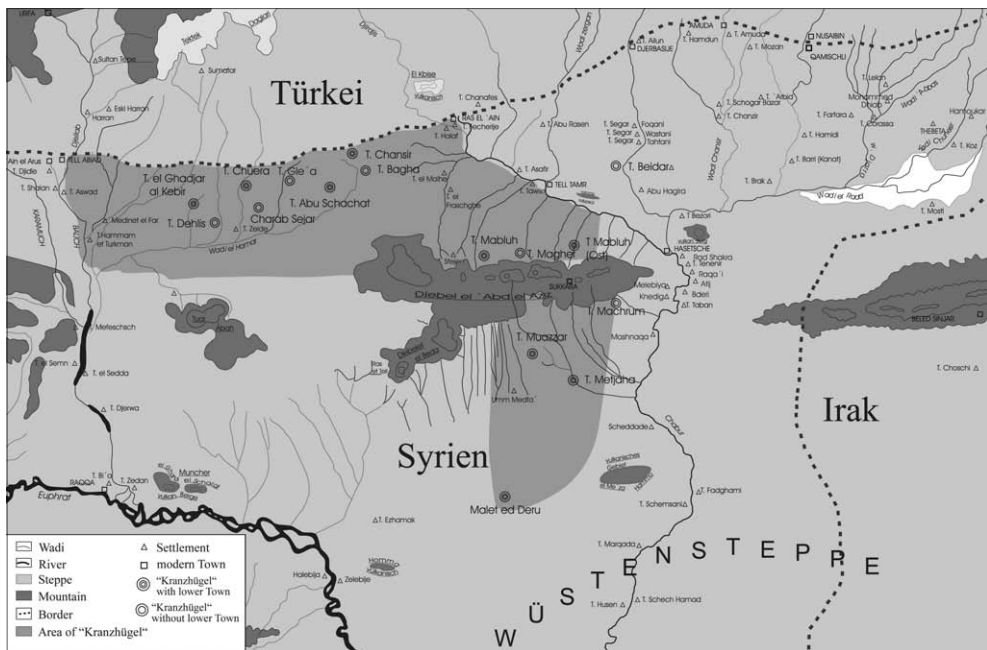


Abb. 1 - Karte von Nordostsyrien mit Verbreitung der «Kranzhügel»



Abb. 2 - Satellitenbildaufnahme von Tell Chuera (Corona 26.6.1972)

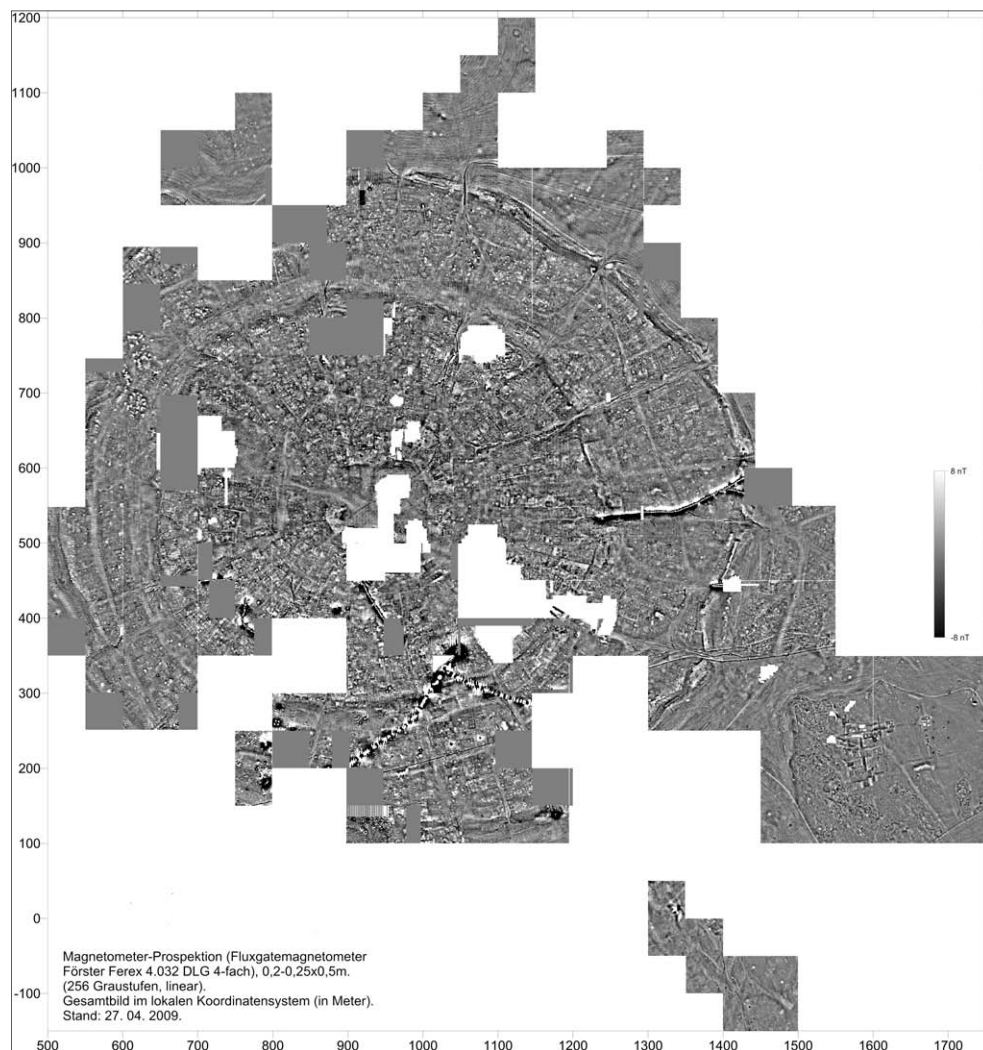


Abb. 3 - Bild der geomagnetischen Prospektion

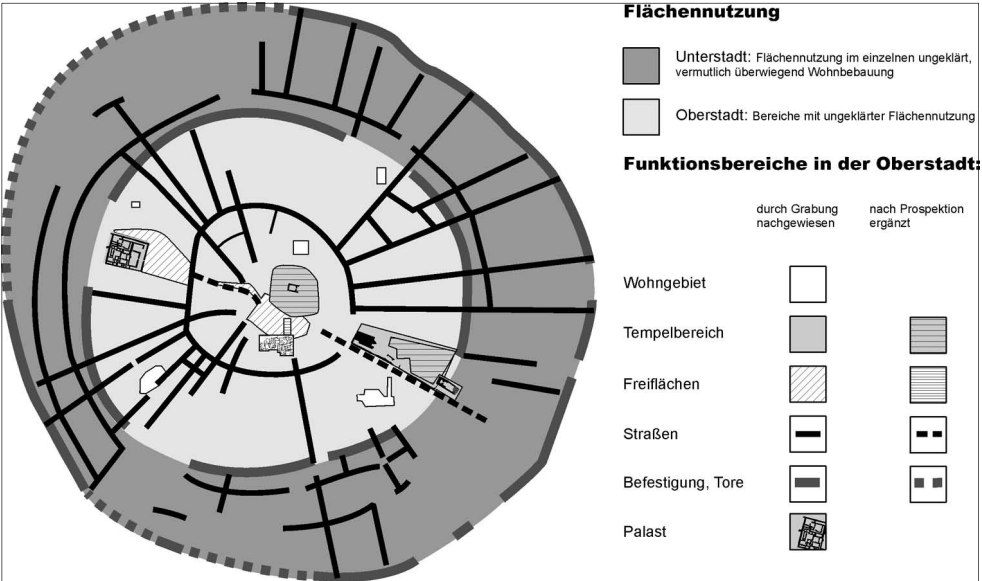


Abb. 4 - Rekonstruktion des Stadtbildes der Periode Tell Chuera ID (FBZ IVA)



Abb. 5 - Tempel S, Periode Tell Chuera ID (FBZ IVA)



Abb. 6 - Tempel S, Tell Chuera, Periode IC (FBZ III)

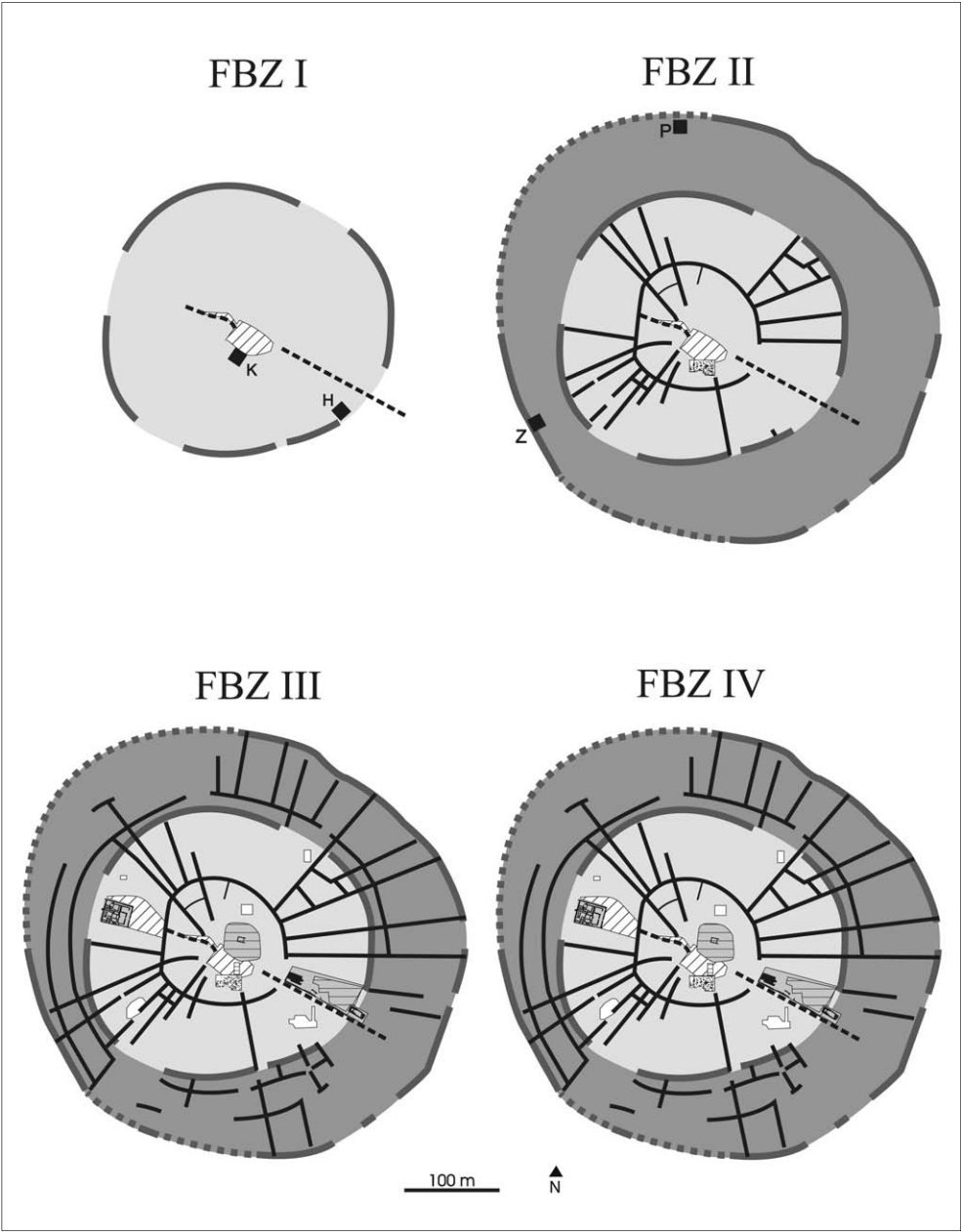


Abb. 7 - Schematische Darstellung der Stadtentwicklung



Abb. 8 - Außenstadt (ASA), Tell Chuera Periode ID (FBZ IVA)



Abb. 9 - Kanal im Stadttor der inneren Stadtmauer, Tell Chuera Periode IC (FBZ III)

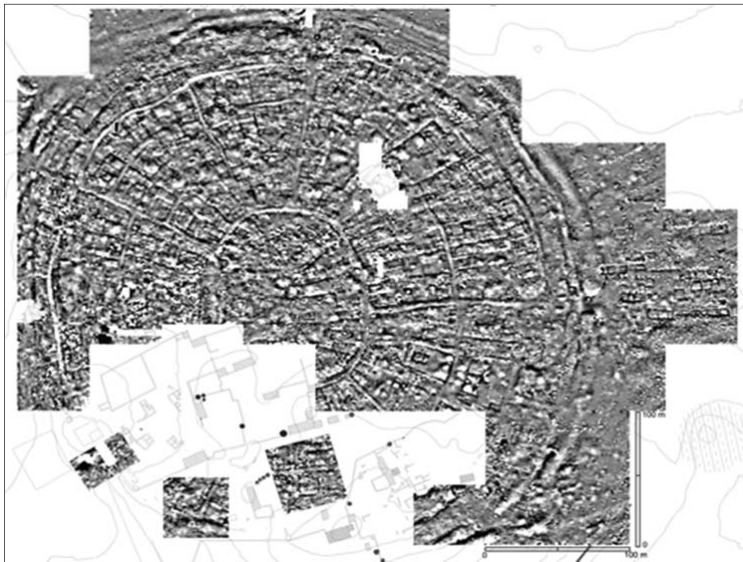


Abb. 10 - Bild der geomagnetischen Prospektion in Tell al-Rawda
(mit Erlaubnis Corinne Castel)



Abb. 11 - Bild der geomagnetischen Prospektion in Tell esh-Sha'irat
(mit Erlaubnis Michel al-Maqdissi)



Abb. 12 - Luftbildaufnahme von Khirbet al Qasr (mit Erlaubnis Corinne Castel)



Abb. 13 - Luftbildaufnahme von Qatna mit Lage der vermuteten «Runden Stadt»
(nach Michel Maqdissi)

DAVID I. OWEN*

A Tale of Two Cities

New Ur III Archives and their Implication for Early Old Babylonian History and Culture¹

Gernot Wilhelm has distinguished himself in no less than three areas of scholarship - Nuzi Studies, Hurrian Studies and Hittitology. In each he has made major contributions and for each he has provided many basic tools upon which current and future scholars and students alike will rely. It would be difficult if not impossible for me to address any of the areas about which Gernot knows so much more than me. Instead I offer a brief, general summary of my own current work with the hope that it will prove both informative and entertaining to him and to all who were those present at his symposium.

It has been just over a century since the first texts from the Third Dynasty of Ur were published. Since then we have seen about 80,000 texts published and another ca. 20,000 still unpublished, all collected now in the two searchable Internet sites, *CDLI* (*Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*²) in Los Angeles and Berlin and the *BDTNS* (*Base de Datos de Textos Neo-sumerios*³) in Madrid, both of which greatly facilitate our research. Only a minority of these texts was found in controlled excavations while the majority comes from clandestine finds, devoid of any archaeological context. The texts are found in museum, university and private collections the world over. Ironically, no significant Ur III archival find has been properly excavated in Iraq for well over a half century while substantial numbers of texts from this period continue to be published from public and private collections as well as those appearing on the antiquities market. Fortunately, the past few decades have seen a resurgence of interest both in the economic history of the ancient Near East but more specifically, in the thousands of Ur III texts that often remain ignored and unpublished in many of these collections.

Recently I published an Ur III archive of over 1400 texts from a town called Garšana,⁴ located in the Umma district somewhere in the vicinity of the cities of either

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¹ This is a revised version of a lecture presented at the symposium with the addition of footnotes and bibliography.

² <http://cdli.ucla.edu/>

³ <http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/>

⁴ Owen – Mayr 2007.

Zabala, Karkar or Adab.⁵ Rudolf H. Mayr, with whom I began the study of this remarkable collection, first identified the archive in the Rosen Collection in New York City. It is housed now in the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar, Cornell University. The archive, which spans the years between *Šū-Suen* 6 and *Ibbi-Suen* 4, comes from a royal estate owned by *Šū-Kabta*, the son-in-law of Amar-Suena, whose seals identify him both as a general and physician. Upon his death in *Šū-Suen* 8/xi the estate continued to be overseen by his wife, the princess *Sīmat-Ištarān*, daughter of Amar-Suena.⁶

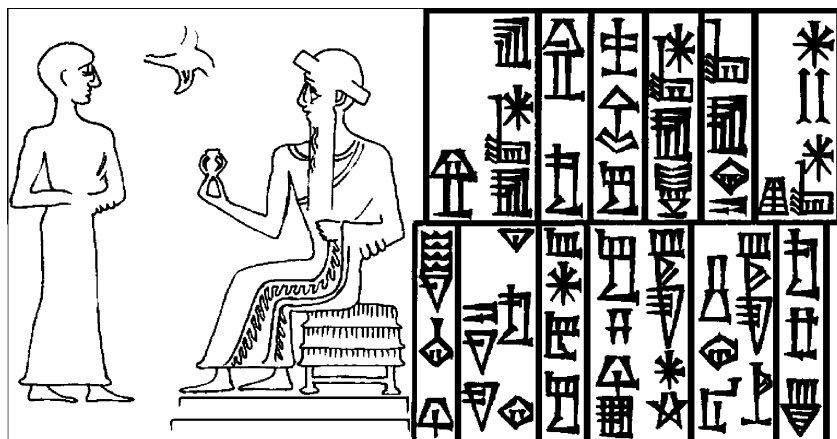


Fig. 1. Amar-Suena, / appointed by Enlil / in Nippur, / attendant at the / temple of Enlil, / mighty male, / king of Sumer and Akkad, / for *Šū-Kabta*, / his son-in-law, / gifted (this seal)⁷

⁵ Heimpel 2009, 9, Heimpel 2011, 153–159 and Steinkeller 2011, 373–390 for a different location at Tell Nasiriya and an extensive argument in its favor.

⁶ I would like to thank Rudolf H. Mayr for providing the seal drawings from his forthcoming CUSAS 7 volume.

⁷ Drawing by Mayr forthcoming.

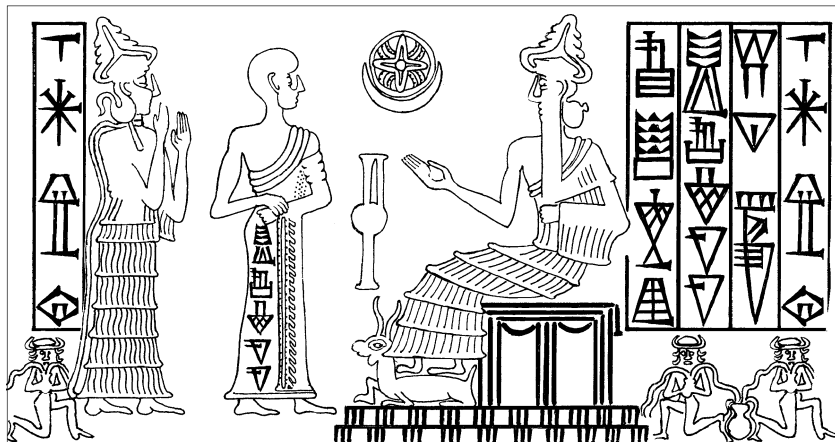


Fig. 2. *Sīmat-Ištarān*, / royal daughter, / *Tūram-ilī*, / scribe, is her servant⁸

Among the remarkable data revealed by this archive is the fact that the extensive estate existed in an Akkadian community in the Sumerian heartland. Aside from a manor house, the estate compound consisted of a brewery, textile mill, flour mill, leather workshop, and large kitchen, along with other facilities such as a piggery. In fact, the entire organization of the household can be reconstructed easily given all the data provided by this new archive.⁹ The hundreds of personal names found in the archive are nearly all Akkadian as are most of the names of the scribes. Many of the local towns and villages also have Akkadian names, suggesting that the rural population, at least in this part of the Umma province, was predominantly Akkadian.¹⁰ Indeed, even the syllabary used by the scribes reflects the Akkadian syllabary known already from the earlier Sargonic period. In fact, these Akkadian scribes wrote Sumerian frequently in syllabic form, an important asset in our understanding of the pronunciation of Sumerian as heard by Akkadian speakers. As Sallaberger writes, “Garšana teaches us that we should not regard the region of a province, a former city state, as being linguistically homogenous: the state organization of Garšana employed dominantly Akkadians in a Sumerian environment.”¹¹

Equally significant, the role of women in this archive reflects a much higher participation in daily life than our documentation has provided hitherto. Women acted as supervisors of both male and female workers, construction laborers, brick haulers and

⁸ For a discussion and publication of this unique seal impression, cf. Mayr 2011, 227–232.

⁹ Kleinerman 2011, 183–207.

¹⁰ E.g. *Dimat-kalbu*, *Šū-Suen-ammaru*, *Šū-Suen-ṭabu*, *Tarra’um*, *Tunium*, and *Ušar-Atigini*, etc.

¹¹ Sallaberger 2011, 368.

other positions such as the head of the textile mill. *Sīmat-Ištarān* headed and ran the estate after the death of her husband. Enough is known now about the princess *Sīmat-Ištarān* and her husband *Šū-Kabta* to warrant an entire monograph on this royal family, now being prepared by Marcos Such-Gutiérrez.¹² The data reveal how women played not only an integral role in the running of the estate but also in its maintenance and construction. Their seals, often of the highest quality, are important indicators of their status. The implications for social conditions for the rest of Sumerian and Akkadian society of the period must now be investigated anew.

Among the 1400 Garšana texts there exists a unique archival group dealing with the construction and expansion of the estate. These details, hitherto unknown in texts from any period, offer unusual insights into construction techniques, technical, often Akkadian, vocabulary, and workers' production methods and maintenance.¹³ They are thereby providing social historians and archaeologists with a very rich new source for their respective researches. Even culinary insights such as the widespread use of three types of soup or stew to feed the workers and officials are documented along with their ingredients. And thanks to the efforts of Hagan Brunke, the recipes for making these soups/stews have been reconstructed.¹⁴ In a remarkable publication, Wolfgang Heimpel has analyzed these construction texts to provide an in-depth, study of this unique archive. His extensive analysis provides significant new data for Sumerian and Akkadian lexicography and invaluable descriptions of building techniques that include most phases of construction from foundation to roof. Given the exacting details, these data will surely be of great value to archaeologists for the reconstruction of structures normally found preserved only at foundation level.¹⁵ Thus we have now a picture of society from the perspective of the Akkadian population in Sumer that was simply unavailable from the primarily Sumerian population known from the main cities in the South - Umma, Ġirsu, Lagaš, Ur, Nippur and *Puzriš-Dagān*. It also reveals that the Akkadian population and the Akkadian language were much more prevalent in the Sumerian heartland than was indicated in the existing sources. The Garšana texts represent the first archive from a provincial, royal estate and, as such, will broaden our understanding of the social and economic makeup of Sumer for the Ur III period.¹⁶

During the final preparation of the publication of the Garšana archives I began to notice texts appearing on the Internet that contained a calendar known previously only from the so-called *Tūram-ilī* archive. This small archive from *Tūram-ilī*, a supervisor of merchants, was assembled from about 75 tablets in various collections and organized

¹² Such-Gutiérrez, in preparation in the CUSAS series.

¹³ Heimpel 2009.

¹⁴ Brunke 2011b; Brunke 2011a, 31–65.

¹⁵ Heimpel 2009.

¹⁶ Note, for example, the recent study of slavery and labor at Garšana, Adams 2010/2, 1–10 [reprinted in Owen 2011] where he suggests that these new data require a new interpretation of the role they serve in Sumer.

and studied by Marc Van de Mieroop¹⁷ and Steven Garfinkle.¹⁸ We do not know where these tablets were found and speculation runs from somewhere in northern Babylonia to the specific site of *Tell al-Wilayah*. Because the personal names are all Akkadian and the calendar is new, the data suggested a northern, Akkadian location.

The *Āl-Šarrākī* and *Tūram-ilī* Menologies¹⁹

Position	The <i>Āl-Šarrākī</i> Calendar	<i>Tūram-ilī</i> Calendar ²⁰
i	šu-ġar(-ra) / šu-ġara-gal	šu-ġar
ii	^{ges} apin	^{ges} apin
iii	ezem-a-dara ₄	ezem-a-dara ₄
iv	ezem- ^d li ₉ -si ₄	ezem- ^d li ₉ -si ₄
v	ezem-a-bi	ezem-a-bi
vi	gi-si ₁₁ -ga	gi-si ₁₁ -ga
vii	ezem- ^d šul-gi	ezem- ^d šul-gi
viii	nîĝ-en-líl-lá	nîĝ-en-líl-lá
ix	kir ₁₁ -si-aka	kir ₁₁ -si-aka
x	nîĝ-e-ga	nîĝ-e-ga
xi	ezem-an-na	ezem-an-na
xii	še-kîĝ-ku ₅	še-kîĝ-ku ₅
xiii	dirig še-kîĝ-ku ₅	not attested
xiii	dirig	not attested

At first I thought these Internet tablets, which have been appearing in increasing numbers, were, in fact, part of the *Tūram-ilī* archive, an archive consisting mostly of loans. Even though the calendars were the same, only *Tūram-ilī*, supervisor of merchants, appeared among the hundreds of mostly Akkadian personal names at Iri-Saġrig, along with a few of the many names known from his archive that were identified among them. Furthermore, the variety of texts was completely different and

did not contain the typical loans that dominate *Tūram-ilī*'s archive. Additional study revealed the frequent appearance of Ur-mes, previously known as the governor (énsi) of Iri-Saġrig, from which I soon concluded that the texts had come from that city, an origin that was confirmed later by much additional evidence from the subsequently recovered texts.²¹ The location of Iri-Saġrig, like Garšana, remains unknown although a number of possible sites have been suggested for it. It is clearly to be found east of Nippur, probably at Adams site 1188, a substantial mound that does not contain a modern name but has been extensively looted.²² What is particularly interesting is the apparent close relationship between Garšana and Iri-Saġrig both of which are associated with the excavation of the *Mama-šarrat* canal to which each sent workers for digging and dredg-

¹⁷ Mieroop 1986, 1–80.

¹⁸ Garfinkle 2002, 29–48; Garfinkle 2003, 161–198 and now Garfinkle 2012, *passim*.

¹⁹ The following charts are from Owen 2011.

²⁰ See Widell 2003, *passim*.

²¹ Giovanni Pettinato had come to similar conclusions in his lectures based on a group of tablets from the same archive formerly held by the Jordanian authorities in Amman, Jordan and now in Baghdad. See also his catalogue of the texts in R. Menegazzi (ed.), *An Endangered Cultural Heritage. Iraqi Antiquities Recovered in Jordan*, Monografie di Mesopotamia – VII (Firenze 2006).

²² Molina 2011, in press.

ing. Furthermore, various officials known from Garšana appear at Iri-Saĝrig, including both *Šū-Kabta* and *Sīmat-Ištarān*.

About 1000 texts now can be securely attributed to this site based on its unique calendar and its named officials.²³ The texts date from the early years of Amar-Suena through *Ibbi-Suen's* 4th year, about the same time the Garšana archives end. Iri-Saĝrig was a royal city, governed by an ensi, and visited more frequently by the kings of Ur than any other city in the empire. According to the evidence from the Iri-Saĝrig texts and those from *Puzriš-Dagan*, the kings of Ur went to Iri-Saĝrig no less than fifteen times while only six times to Nippur and two to Uruk. Iri-Saĝrig is the only city known from contemporary texts to have been visited by Šulgi in his 42nd year and the last documented city visited by an Ur III king, by *Ibbi-Suen* in his first year.

Date	To/From <i>Āl-Šarrākī</i>	To/From Other Places	Source
Š 42/x/14	2 udu-niga kaš-dé-a-lugal u ₄ iri-saĝ-rig ^{ki} -ta mu-DU-ra		TRU 284:1-3
AS 1/iii/22	[šu-gíd é]-muhaldim mu āga-ús-e-ne-šè [u ₄ lug]al iri-saĝ-rig ^{ki} -ta i-im-ĝen-na		MVN 15 58:19-20 (= JCS 24, 161 58:19-20)
AS 1/xi/-	u ₄ lugal-ĝu ₁₀ é-báppir ^d šul-gi-ra-ka-šè kaš i-naĝ-ĝá-a . . . šà iri-saĝ-š[i]l ^{ki} g ₇		AUCT 1 176:2-7
AS 4/xii/20		3l ud ₅ šu-gíd é-muhaldim lugal nibru ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a-ĝá-ar . . . šà unu ^{ki} -ga	PDT 1 478:6-10
AS 5/xi/7	3l ud ₅ šu-gíd é-muhaldim lugal iri-saĝ-rig ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a-ĝá-ar		OIP 121 404:3
AS 6/x/13	2 udu-niga kás-dé-a lugal u ₄ iri-saĝ-rig ^{ki} -ta mu-DU-ra iti-ta u ₄ -l ₃ ba-ra-zal		TRU 84:1-3
AS 8/i/19		[šu-g]íd é-muhaldim lugal nibru ^{ki} <-šè> du-ni má-a ba-a-ĝá-ar	ASJ 4 66 10:7-8
AS 8/vii/15		šu-gíd é-muhaldim lugal nibru ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a-ĝá-ar . . . šà unu ^{ki} -ga	AUCT 3 490:5-9

²³ Owen 2012, *passim*.

Date	To/From <i>Āl-Šarrākī</i>	To/From Other Places	Source
AS 9/iii/-	mu silim-ma <i>a-bí-sí-im-ti</i> u[nu]g ^{ki} -ta mu-ġen-a-šè ... šà iri-saġ-rig ^{ki}		HTS 144:3-4, 10
AS 9/x/20		mu āga-ūs-e-ne-šè lugal nibru ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba- a-ġá-ar	OIP 121 430:3- 4
ŠS 1/iii/-	11 udu 43 u ₈ 3 maš-gal šu-gíd sila ₄ 1 udu 1 sila ₄ ba-ug ₇ é-muhaldim lugal iri-saġ-rig ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a-ġá-ar		Ontario 1 148:5-8
ŠS 1/x/27		8 udu ba-ug ₇ lugal nibru- ki-šè du-ni má-a ba-a!-gar	<i>AfO</i> 24, pl. 19 Dring 1:5-7
ŠS 2/iii/24		u ₄ lugal iri-saġ-rig ^{ki} -šè i-ġen-na	YOS 4 217
ŠS 2/x/11		šu-gíd é-muhaldim lugal unuga ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba- a-ġá-ar	MVN 10 142:10-11
ŠS 2/x/16		šu-gíd é-muhaldim lugal nibru ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba- a-ġá-ar	MVN 10 142:15-16
ŠS 3/x/9	u ₄ lugal-šè im-e-re-ša-a		Nisaba 15
ŠS 7/iii/18	2 gu ₄ -ú 2 áb-ú 10 udu-ú šu-gíd é-muhaldim lugal iri-saġ-rig ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a-ġá-ar		NYPL 397:5-7 (= <i>Museon</i> 88 4)
ŠS 7/-/-	šu+níġin 128 šá-hi-a šáh níġ-gur ₁₁ še-lí-pu-tum dumu-munus-lugal		Nisaba 15
ŠS 8/iii/20	3 gu ₄ šu-gíd 15 udu šu- gíd é-muhaldim lugal iri-saġ-rig ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a-ġá-ar		TRU 341:12-15
ŠS 8/x/25		šu-gíd é-muhaldim-lugal nibru ^{ki} -šè du-ni	AnOr 7 104:13- 14
ŠS 9/iii/24	2 udu-niga- <i>ha-ar-ši-tum</i> u ₄ lugal iri-saġ-rig ^{ki} -šè i- ġen-na		YOS 4 217:3-4
ŠS 9/iii/-	u ₄ lugal-šè im-ġen-na-a		Nisaba 15
ŠS 9/x/30		šu-gíd é-muhaldim-lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba-a- ġá-ar ... šà nibru ^{ki}	AnOr 7 108:11- 15
IS 1/ii/-	u ₄ lugal im-ġen-na-a		Nisaba 15
IS 1/iii/-	1 kuš-udu-babbar ka-tab har kù-babbar maš-da- ri-a-lugal ba-ra-kešda u ₄ lugal im-ġen-na-a		Nisaba 15

Date	To/From <i>Āl-Šarrākī</i>	To/From Other Places	Source
IS 1/vii/19		šu-gíd é-muhaldim-lugal nibru ^{ki} -šè du-ni má-a ba- a-ĝá-ar . . . šà unu ^{ki} -ga	CT 32, 16 BM 103399:iv, 24- 27
IS 1/-/-	u ₄ lugal im-ĝen-na-a		Nisaba 15

The city is otherwise associated with numerous military (twenty-four generals are named in the texts), and royal personages (eight princesses, six princes, three sons of the sukkal-mah, etc.) who appear frequently in the texts along with a bevy of male and female royal singers, presumably there to entertain the royal entourage. The number of professions represented, some for the first time, is remarkable (kuš₇, gudu₄, lú-mah, máš-šu-gíd-gíd, dam-gar), four kinds of cooks (muhaldim, muhaldim-lugal, muhaldim-é-uzu, muhaldim-gír-lá), metal and stone workers (zadim, simug, tibira), sailors and ship-builders (má-lah₅, má-gín), agricultural and livestock personnel (mušen-dù, sipa-ur-gi₇-ra, sipa-ur-mah, sipa-šáh, engar, etc.). Over 100 scribes, including fourteen different kinds of scribes (oil scribes, bull scribes, spice scribes, etc.), are represented in the archive, the majority of whom have Akkadian names. Eleven royal scribes are attested, some with Akkadian names. More royal scribes are attested at Iri-Saĝrig than most cities in Sumer including the capital at Ur. Furthermore, the majority of the hundreds of personal names in the texts are also Akkadian. There are indications that the scribes were beginning to write in Akkadian. Seven Akkadian texts from the Iri-Saĝrig archive have revealed that even scribes with Sumerian names were writing in Akkadian, including legal texts, mostly containing oaths, along with letters in standard, later Old Babylonian format. While seven out of a thousand texts do not indicate the widespread use of Akkadian, it nevertheless reveals that these scribes were fully capable of switching entirely to Akkadian once the empire collapsed and the regime changed to an Amorite/Babylonian royal administration. It is likely that these same scribes continued to function in the Babylonian schools and in the service of their new royal masters throughout Babylonia after the fall of Ur and into the early Isin-Larsa period.

In addition, a new form of what has been called a “messenger text” appears at Iri-Saĝrig in a greatly enlarged format that includes detailed descriptions of the tasks of hundreds of royal messengers, high officials and various professional groups. These new texts are better classified as “ration distribution accounts” and constitute the largest homogeneous group, ca. 300 texts, within the larger archive. Some of the texts are over one hundred lines long and as a group they contain hundred of names of individual royal messengers, the great majority of whom are Akkadian as are most of the names of individuals appearing in the rest of the archive. There are more royal messengers named in this one archive than in the entire corpus of texts from the Ur III period. They indicate extensive interaction, presumably representing the crown, mostly with the northern city of *Der* but also with cities in northwestern Iran (*Bulum*, *Kimaš*, *Hurtum*, *Harši*,

Sigraš, *Simaškum*, *Zidahrūm*, *Huttum* and *Zitian*, among others) but little interaction with the more southern Iranian cities such as Susa or other Sumerian cities, even nearby Nippur. Although the royal presence in Iri-Saĝrig was extensive, the city continued to use its own distinct, local calendar and never the imperial calendar in use in all the major cities of the empire. These messengers, indeed most officials and professionals, and even servants received substantial rations of mutton, roast mutton, soup/stew and fish (udu, udu-še₆-ĝá, tu₇, ku₆) in addition to breads, sweets and beer (ninda, ninda-i, níĝ-i-dé-a, kaš). Even the palace dogs and lions were fed meat and bread! Such a rich rationing system, utilizing large quantities of meat, is unknown at other cities and reflects, perhaps, a special status that Iri-Saĝrig may have held among the cities of Sumer.

As would be expected in a city with strong royal connections, the Iri-Saĝrig archive reveals that this city contained numerous temples not only for all the deceased kings of Ur, except for *Ibbi-Suen* under whose reign the archive was maintained, but also for a variety of gods and goddesses who, until now, did not have documented temples – Ašgi, Damkina, Ninhursag, Šulpae and the obscure deities Alla and *Il-Simtiša*. Substantial new documentation for offerings at these temples and for the three monthly moon festivals, particularly the use of soup/stew for the latter, provides an important addition to what we know of cultic practices for the period. The implications of all these new data suggest strongly that the Semitic presence and influence in Sumer was more extensive than earlier projections.

Now, for the first time, we have at our disposal two major Ur III archives, each with about 1000 or more texts, which provide us with details of historical and cultural life in Sumer after the death of Šulgi. I believe that his death was an important watershed in the history of the Ur III dynasty. His father, Ur-Namma, probably came from an old Sumerian family. He reestablished control of the country after the Gutí interregnum and instituted what has been called a Sumerian renaissance. Šulgi centralized this control, established a new economic order, and expanded Sumer to incorporate cities beyond Sumer's traditional borders, particularly to control the major trade routes to and from Elam through the Zagros passes to the Great Khorasan Road.²⁴ Šulgi further Sumerianized the culture by establishing schools throughout Sumer, fostering Sumerian literature and making the Sumerian language the official language of the court and the administration even though much, if not the majority, of the population appears to have been Akkadian by that time. He actually was representative of a declining Sumerian ethnic group. His wives and concubines were predominantly Semitic and his children and grandchildren mostly carried Semitic names. The archives reveal that, at least in the area from Umma north, the population was predominantly Semitic. What is also noteworthy is that few, if any, of the numerous new personal names in these archives can be identified as Amorite. They are clearly Akkadian or otherwise unidentified. The term mar-dú never occurs in either of the archives as a qualifying adjective of a single per-

²⁴ Steinkeller 2011.

son. Unlike the records from *Puzriš-Dagan*, there is little evidence for any Amorite presence either in the city or in the countryside. Furthermore, most officials, from the children of the *sukkal-mah*, the many generals, and most of the high as well as minor officials also bore Akkadian names. Even local towns and villages had Akkadian names and nearly all the royal messengers travelling from Sumer to and from Elam also were Akkadians. The last two kings of Ur had Semitic names, as did their wives and children. Where then were the Sumerians? There is no doubt that there existed an identifiable Sumerian element in the population that spoke and wrote Sumerian. The royal scribes mostly had Sumerian names but were they Sumerians themselves or did they just assume these Sumerian names when they became scribes? We cannot tell. Sallaberger demonstrates rather convincingly that the syllabically written Sumerian at Garšana is an indication that the Akkadian scribes not only heard a living Sumerian language but also often recorded it as they heard it, syllabically and without the traditional ideograms.²⁵ We can only conclude that, with the collapse of the empire, the minority Sumerian population simply was marginalized, perhaps because of its association with the former government, and that the Akkadian/Babylonian language, the common spoken language of the people and, most importantly, of the scribes, was adopted for all forms of communication, official or otherwise. Only the frozen, technical terminology of legal and economic texts was retained as a shorthand while the Sumerian lexical, literary and religious texts were preserved only in the schools and translated into Akkadian from what had effectively become a dead or dying language. One might also conclude that the very Akkadian scribes who were trained during the Ur III period taught the written Akkadian and Sumerian languages initially and who survived whatever turmoil and disruption took place after its fall. Similarly, the cities that broke away from the central authority of Ur reverted to their ancient, independent status with their predominantly Akkadian and Amorite populations. Was this a form of standardization and emancipation? I leave this for you to decide.

To summarize: It would appear that the transition to the Isin-Larsa period was characterized less by military disruptions and destruction but by a more or less peaceful transition after the fall of Ur and the capture and subsequent death of *Ibbi-Suen* in Iranian captivity. Already by *Ibbi-Suen*'s 4th year most of the cities of the Ur III Empire had broken away and established their independence. The attack by the Elamites that brought an end to the dynasty with the capture of *Ibbi-Suen* did not result in an Elamite conquest of Sumer. Isin and Larsa quickly emerged as the most prominent cities in Sumer while cities in the north/northwest also assumed prominence. Ešnunna and Aššur, Mari and Aleppo, each emerged as the major political powers to the north and northwest. Sumerian ceased to be a spoken language simply because whoever remained of the Sumerian political elite no longer had any influence and power. By this time Akkadian and Amorite were widely spoken throughout Mesopotamia and the surviving

²⁵ Sallaberger 2011, *passim*.

scribes had already, since Sargonic times, produced a syllabary more than adequate to represent their spoken language and were already writing letters and contracts in their language well before the collapse of Ur. Only the frozen Sumerian technical formulae were preserved in economic records while Babylonian became the primary language of communication in letters and literature. Sumerian continued to be taught and preserved only in schools for cultural and cultic reasons. The transition was apparently smooth. There is no evidence for any suppression of a Sumerian population and the archaeology has not revealed any widespread destruction. The material culture reflects continuity both in architecture and ceramics. The assumed widespread Amorite influx is simply invisible in the material remains. The centralized power that once held the city-states together vanished and each city reverted to its original, independent city-state status until, under *Hammurabi*, they were bound together under a central authority once again. This duration of independent city-states lasted over 200 years while the Ur III empire less than 100 and the *Hammurabi* unification not much longer.

What is clear from these new discoveries and their respective present and forthcoming publications is that unprovenanced sources, even devoid of excavated context, contribute significant and often unique data for the study of the ancient Near East. Denigrating these sources because of their lack of context or otherwise suppressing their accessibility, their discussion or even their publication, is contrary to the best interests of scholarship in general, and to Assyriology in particular. It only compounds the tragic results of the destruction of sites throughout the Near East.²⁶ To quote the distinguished classicist, John Boardman, "Objects cannot be 'tainted' or 'illicit', and could only be so described by scholars who do not understand them, or legislators. . . . The objects are testaments of antiquity, whether handled by a thief or scholar; their integrity must be respected and their safety assured. To suggest that they should even be destroyed rather than kept in a museum betrays an appalling vacuum of scholarly integrity and responsibility, even philistinism. . . . Our museums are full of objects that speak for themselves, to the public and to scholars, without knowledge of their exact provenance. To hold that an object without context is worthless is pure nonsense."²⁷ Every effort must be made to rescue, preserve and publish these scattered sources not only to diminish the effects of this destruction, but to continue to enrich our knowledge of the ancient Near East.

²⁶ See my remarks in Owen 2009, 125–142.

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MIRJO SALVINI

Neuassyrische Schrift und Sprache in den urartäischen Königsinschriften (9.-7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)

Bei dieser Gelegenheit und vor allem in einem historischen Milieu darf man Daten nicht verheimlichen. Anfang des WS 1964 lernte ich den „jungen Wilhelm“ – wie er lange Zeit genannt wurde – hier in Berlin an der FU kennen. Er war noch nicht 20, und hatte gerade das große Graecum nachgeholt. Ich erinnere mich an unser erstes Gespräch. Der frisch vom Altsprachlichen Gymnasium Kommende zeigte Interesse an dem Ausländer, der ich war, und erkundigte sich unter anderem nach den bedeutendsten Strömungen (zwischen Klassizismus und Romantik) und nach den Vertretern der italienischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts. So konnte ich hier irgendwo in der Thielallee die Namen von Ugo Foscolo und Giacomo Leopardi nennen.

Es ist eine lang bekannte Tatsache, dass die ältesten Erwähnungen einer Landschaft Urartu, in der frühen Form Uruatri/Uratri, in den assyrischen Annalen zu finden sind. Im 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr. führt Aššur-bēl-kāla zu Beginn seiner Regierung einen Feldzug gegen das Land Uruatri durch¹ und verewigt ihn in einer eindrucksvollen Landschaftsbeschreibung (mit der Hacke durch Berge und über Flüsse, über unpassierbare Wege, selbst für die „Vögel des Himmels“). Ganz ähnlich klingt im übrigen die Beschreibung des Marsches Sargons durch die Zagros-Berge auf Mušašir im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.²

Der weit breitere geographisch-politische Begriff für die Länder nördlich des Taurus ist aber seit mittellassyrischer Zeit die Region Nairi³, denn Tukulti-Ninurta I. rühmt sich, in dieser Gegend „40 Könige der N.-Länder“ bekämpft zu haben. Die Annalen Tiglatpileser I. berichten ebenfalls über einen Nairi-Feldzug, und erwähnen die Namen von 23 Ländern. Relief und Inschrift am Tigristunnel⁴ (Abb. 1-2) weisen auf die Pforte des Taurus hin, über die die assyrischen Heere ins armenische Hochplateau vorzudringen pflegten. Nördlich des Van-Sees, in Yoncalı, nahe der Stadt Malazgirt, hatte Carl F. Lehmann-Haupt eine 7-zeilige Felsinschrift entdeckt,⁵ in der sich Tiglatpileser als „Er-

¹ Grayson, 1991, A.0.89.2, S. 89 ff.

² Thureau-Dangin 1912.

³ Salvini 1998.

⁴ Schachner 2009, die Inschriften Tiglatpileser I. und Salmanassars III. sind von Karen Radner bearbeitet worden.

⁵ Lehmann-Haupt 1906, 15 f. Nr. 6 mit Photo.

oberer der Länder Nairi von Tummi bis Daieni, Eroberer von Ḫabḫu bis zum Großen Meer“ verewigt.⁶ Nach Lehmann-Haupt hat meiner Kenntnis nach kein Forscher diese Inschrift jemals wieder gefunden. Vielleicht ist sie inzwischen zerstört worden.

Salmanassar III. erwähnt in seinem Akzessionsjahr 858 die Erstürmung von Ḫubuškia, wobei Kakia, „König von Nairi“, auf die Berge entflohen. Unmittelbar danach gibt er die Belagerung von Sugunia, der befestigten Stadt von „Arame, dem Urartäer“,⁷ kund. Im 3. Jahr wird Arzaškun(u), die königliche Stadt desselben „Aramu, des Urartäers“, erobert. Salmanassar hat sich ebenfalls am Tigristunnel verewigt (Abb. 3), nämlich mit vier Inschriften und zwei Basreliefs,⁸ die heute noch zu sehen sind. In den ältesten Texten (Nr. 21 und 22) aus dem 7. Jahr (852) berichtet er, zum 3. Mal nach dem Land Nairi marschiert zu sein und seinen Namen an der Quelle des Tigris geschrieben zu haben. Die Inschrift des 7. Jahres erwähnt das Meer von Nairi (wohl den Van-See) und die Stadt Arzaškun von „Aramu dem Urartäer“. Im Text des 14. Jahres (Nr. 24), nämlich 845, wo wieder Nairi, Arzaškun und Aramu erwähnt sind, lautet die Formulierung anders: „Ich habe Urartu von der Quelle des Tigris bis zu den Quellen des Euphrats ... unterworfen.“ Der „Schwarze Obelisk“ verzeichnet zum 27. Jahr, 832 v. Chr., dass der Turtan Dajjān-Aššur nach Urartu zieht und in einer Feldschlacht „Seduru, den Urartäer“ besiegt.⁹ Genau in diese Zeit fällt die Anknüpfung an die einheimische schriftliche Tradition.

Am Fuße des Van-Felsens steht ein mächtiger Bau (Abb. 4), der seit den Forschungen von Carl F. Lehmann-Haupt und Waldemar Belck im Rahmen der „Armenischen Expedition“ der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, in der Literatur unter dem Namen „Sardursburg“ bekannt ist. Die Deutung dieser Struktur, welche oft wegen der bis zu fünf Meter langen Kalksteinquader als „zyklopisch“ bezeichnet wird, ist nicht restlos klar. Ich bin der Ansicht, dass es sich um eine Kaianlage handelte. Jedenfalls ist sie wegen der sechs Duplikatinschriften¹⁰ der älteste datierte Bau der urartäischen Architektur. Die Inschrift (Abb. 5) ist in assyrischer Schrift und Sprache abgefasst, und wurde vom Pionier der urartäischen Forschungen, Friedrich E. Schulz, im Jahre 1827 entdeckt. Sie wurde *postum* im „Journal Asiatique“ im Jahre 1840 zusammen mit 42 Keilinschriften aus der Gegend von Van veröffentlicht (Abb. 6).¹¹

Es sei im übrigen darauf hingewiesen, dass damals, vor Beginn der Ausgrabungen von Khorsabad, dies die umfangreichste Gruppe von Keilinschriften war, die Europa

⁶ Grayson 1991, A.0.87.16.

⁷ Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, S. 14 f.

⁸ Grayson 1996, A.0.102. 21-24; Schachner 2009, 209 Anm. 3.

⁹ Grayson 1996, A.0.102.14, S. 69.

¹⁰ CTU A 1-1A-D. Die urartäischen Inschriften werden in diesem Beitrag nach meinem neuen *Corpus dei testi urartei* (CTU), Bände I-III, Rom 2008, und den darin erklärten Siglen zitiert. Dasselbst sind die Konkordanzen mit älteren Corpora und Textveröffentlichungen zu finden.

¹¹ Schulz 1840, 257–323 + VII planches.

erreicht hatte, und dass sie eine nicht unerhebliche Rolle bei den ersten Entzifferungsversuchen der Keilschrift gespielt hatte.

Das Problem der Schriftlichkeit in Urartu wurde von Gernot Wilhelm im Konstanzer Kolloquium von 1986 ausführlich und gründlich behandelt.¹² Seit damals steht wieder fest, dass die Keilschrift direkt aus Assyrien entlehnt wurde, und nicht – wie Igor M. Diakonoff¹³ gemeint hatte – auf eine fünf Jahrhunderte alte Schreiberschule der Mittanni-Zeit zurückzuführen sei.¹⁴ Es fehlen hierfür jegliche Zwischenetappen und es ist andererseits ein bekanntes historisches Phänomen, dass in einem Kulturraum die Kenntnis der Schrift verschwinden und später von außen wieder eingeführt werden kann. Hierfür ist das Beispiel des mykenischen Griechenland bezeichnend. Die Silbenschrift (Linear B) verschwand für immer, und erst einige Jahrhunderte später wurde eine neue, diesmal alphabetische Schrift aus Phönizien importiert. Auf dem armenischen Hochplateau, also nördlich der Tauruskette, und auf beiden Seiten der nördlichen Zagroskette, war übrigens vor der Bildung des urartäischen Staats die Schrift unbekannt.

Gernot Wilhelm hat Grammatik und Syntax sowie die Titulatur dieses neuassyrischen Textes im einzelnen untersucht. Hier ist die Transkription aus dem Corpus der urartäischen Inschriften:

CTU A 1-1A

- 1 IM šá^{md} sar₃-dūri(BAD) A^m lu-ti-ib-ri MAN GAL-e MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ
- 2 MAN^{KUR} na-i-ri MAN šá-nin-šú NU TUK-ú^{LÚ} SIPA tab-ra-te
- 3 la-di-ru tú-qu-un-te MAN mu-šak-nis la kan-su-te-šú
- 4^{md} sar₃-dūri(BAD) A^m lu-ti-ib-ri MAN MAN^{MEŠ} -ni šá DÙ-šú-nu MAN^{MEŠ} -ni
- 5 ma-da-tú am-ḫuru^{md} sar₃-dūri(BAD) A^m lu-ti-ib-ri DU₁₁.DU₁₁-ub
- 6 ma-a ana-ku pu-la-ni an-nu-te TA* lib-bi^{URU} al-ni-ú-nu
- 7 na-ša-ku ana-ku BAD an-ni-ú ar-ti-ši-ip

Die Übersetzung lautet:

„Inscription des Sarduri, des Sohnes des Lutibri, des großen Königs, des mächtigen Königs, des Königs von Nairi, des Königs der Gesamtheit, des Königs, der seinesgleichen nicht hat, des bewunderungswürdigen Hirten, der den Kampf nicht fürchtet, des Königs, der zur Unterwerfung zwingt, die sich ihm nicht beugen. (Ich bin) Sarduri, der Sohn des Lutibri, der König der Könige, der ich den Tribut aller Könige empfang. Sarduri, der Sohn des Lutibri, spricht folgendermaßen: ich habe diese Kalksteinblöcke aus der Stadt Alniunu herbeigebracht. Ich habe diese Mauer errichtet.“

¹² Wilhelm 1986, 95–113 (+ Abb. 1-3).

¹³ Diakonoff 1971, 33.

¹⁴ Bereits Benedict 1958, 11 Anm. 1 hatte ältere Hypothesen der hurritischen Herkunft der urartäischen Schrift widerlegt. Lehmann-Haupt 1926, 24, erkannte als erster die Entsprechungen der Titulatur Sarduris mit der von Aššurnasirpal II.

In diesem Dokument wird der später bezeugte Nationalgott 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 nicht erwähnt, denn die Einführung des 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Kultes aus Muṣaṣir ist auf Iṣpuini zurückzuführen.¹⁵ Eine erste Bemerkung muss dem Sumerogramm IM (*tiddu* Ton), d.h. *tuppu* „Tontafel“ gelten, eine Charakterisierung, die für diese Inschrift auf Stein auf den ersten Blick nicht passend scheint. Gernot Wilhelm vermutete, dass dieser erste assyrische Schreiber, wohl ein Gefangener (ein Fremdarbeiter, oder besser ein Gastprofessor!), eben von Hause aus ein Tontafelschreiber gewesen sein könnte. Alle späteren urartäischen Stein-Inschriften werden mit DUB bezeichnet, das ebenfalls *tuppu* „Tontafel“ heißt. Nur die Stelen werden ^{NA4}*pulusi* genannt.

Ich habe jedoch vor einigen Jahren eine Felsinschrift von Argišti I. aus dem iranischen Azerbaidjan, unweit des östlichen Ufers des Urmia-Sees, veröffentlicht,¹⁶ in welcher wieder das Sumerogramm IM verwendet wird, aber in urartäischem Textzusammenhang, und in diesem Fall die Felsinschrift selbst bezeichnet (Abb. 7).

Bei Salmanassar III. ist dieser Sarduri, der erste Herrscher von Van, als „Seduri, der Urartäer“ bekannt. Die Tatsache, dass er sich selbst nicht etwa als König von Urartu, sondern als König von Nairi¹⁷ bezeichnet, bedeutet offensichtlich, dass Nairi politisch gesehen ruhmreicher war und seinem Bedürfnis nach Selbstverherrlichung besser entsprach. Die Urartäer haben erst viel später diese Bezeichnung ihres Landes akzeptiert, und dies auch nur in der assyrischen Fassung der Bilinguen Rusas I. Dass Sarduri „den Tribut aller Könige empfing“, könnte man so verstehen, dass er die einst autarken Könige der Nairi-Länder in einem einheitlichen Staat unter seiner Herrschaft vereinigt hatte.¹⁸

Wir wissen nicht, ob die Keilschrift bereits vor Sarduri I. in Urartu verwendet wurde. Auf der Südseite des Vanfelsens ist eine zerstörte Nische¹⁹ zu sehen, die eine assyrische Inschrift in sehr schlechtem Erhaltungszustand trägt (Abb. 8). Sie ist Teil einer Opferinschrift in assyrischem Duktus und könnte ebenfalls auf Sarduri I. oder noch früher datiert werden.

Der Sohn Sarduris I., Iṣpuini, der als erster die einheimische Sprache, die wir „urartäisch“ nennen, verwendet hat, nennt sich „König von Biainili“. Biainili wird durch die ganze Geschichte Urartus die offizielle einheimische Bezeichnung des Landes und des Königreiches bleiben. So nennt sich Iṣpuini normalerweise „mächtiger König“ (MAN *DAN-NU*), „großer König“ (MAN *alsuini*), „König von Biainili“ (MAN *Biainaue*) und auch MAN *šuraue* (beide Gen. Pl.), was in der assyrischen Fassung der Bilingue von Kelišin (CTU A 3-11 R. 16) mit MAN ŠÚ, d. h. *šar kiššati* „König der Gesamtheit“, wiedergegeben wird.²⁰ Vor allem entspricht das urartäische MAN ^{KUR}Biainaue „König von Biainili“, dem assyrischen MAN ^{KUR}Nairi „König von Nairi“.

¹⁵ Salvini 1995, 40.

¹⁶ Salvini 2005, 241–256 (241–248) = CTU A 8-13.

¹⁷ Salvini 1998.

¹⁸ Salvini 2009.

¹⁹ Tarhan 2007, 761–766.

²⁰ CTU A 3-11 ass.

Die Kelišin-Stele (Abb. 9) mit ihrem zweisprachigen Text (urartäisch und assyrisch) ist gegen 815 v. Chr. von Išpuini und seinem Erbsohn Minua auf dem Weg nach Mušašir auf dem 3000 m hohen Zagros-Pass errichtet worden. Aber Išpuini allein trägt die Königstitulatur. Die assyrische Seite der Stele (Abb. 10) ist nach Osten, d. h. in Richtung Mušašir, und somit auf den Machtbereich der Assyrer hin ausgerichtet. Das heißt, dass in der Epoche der Koregentschaft, oder der gemeinsamen Urkunden von Išpuini und Minua, der Begriff Nairi vom politisch-propagandistischen Gesichtspunkt immer noch wichtiger als Urarṭu erschien. Die Existenz einer Bilingue in jener Lage ist daher verständlich.

Am urartäischen Hof dürfte jedenfalls die assyrische Sprache unter Išpuini eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben; hierfür spricht ein interessantes Objekt, nämlich eine Silber-Situla mit einer assyrischen Widmung²¹ des Königs an sein Enkelkind Inuṣpua, das sehr früh gestorben sein soll (Abb. 11):

^miš-pu-ú-i-ni apil(A) ^{md}sar₅-dūri(BÀD) ana(DIŠ) ^mi-nu-uš-pu-a ittadini(SUM-ni)
ana(DIŠ) ^{LÚ}ki-ba-ri-šú ra-'a-me (*CTU B 2-4)

„Išpuini, Sohn des Sarduri, hat (diese Situla) dem Inuṣpua gegeben, damit er seinen ‘Alten’ (d.h. Großvater)²² liebt.“

Man muss fast ein Jahrhundert warten, bevor wir den Namen Urarṭu in einer urartäischen Urkunde finden. Eine neue Bilingue in drei Exemplaren²³ wurde von Rusa I., dem Gegner Sargons, vor der 8. Kampagne verfasst und an drei verschiedenen Orten auf dem Wege nach Mušašir aufgestellt, nämlich in Movana, Mergeh Karvan (auf iranischem Gebiet) und Topzawa (in irakisch Kurdistan) (Abb. 12 Karte).²⁴ Der Text berichtet über die Strafexpedition Rusas nach Mušašir bzw. gegen dessen König Urzana, die Erneuerung des urartäischen Protektorats und die Inbesitznahme des heiligen Ortes. Auf der Stele von Topzawa (Abb. 13) findet sich die Benennung Biainili in der urartäischen Fassung, hingegen ^{KUR}TILLA (BUR/BUR = Urarṭu) im assyrischen Text. Auf der Stele von Movana steht dagegen zum ersten Mal syllabisch ^{KUR}ú-ra-ar-té (CTU A 10-3, Ass. 24').

In der sargonidischen Zeit war der Begriff Nairi nämlich enger geworden und bezog sich nunmehr nur noch auf den kleinen Staat Ḫubuškia am Zagros. Damals, und bereits im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr., war dagegen der Name Urarṭu viel wichtiger als im 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr. geworden. Man denke an die vielen Eintragungen von *ana Urarṭi* im Eponymenkanon²⁵, vor allem für die Jahre 781 bis 776 v. Chr., als Urarṭu von Argišti I.

²¹ Salvini 1978, 171–174; Salvini 1980, 169–177.

²² ^{LÚ}kibaru heißt im Urartu-Assyrischen “Großvater”; vgl. kibrû, kibarû (AHw 471, CAD 8, 1971, 336 [old man], 481); van Loon 1996, 212. Vgl. hurr. keveri “alter”, Salvini – Wegner 2004, 174.

²³ Siehe Literatur in CTU Band I, S. 497.

²⁴ CTU A 10-3 (Movana), 4 (Mergeh Karvan), 5 (Topzawa).

²⁵ Ungnad 1938, 431.

regiert wurde, und dann wieder 735 v. Chr. zur Zeit Sarduris II. Hier ist aber wiederum folgendes zu bemerken: die älteste Erwähnung von „*ana Urartī*“ fällt in das Jahr 831 v. Chr. und entspricht offensichtlich dem Zusammenstoß mit Seduri, d. h. Sarduri I. Warum also nennt er sich „König von Nairi“, wenn die Assyrer ihn mit Urartu in Verbindung setzen?

Hier gilt es nun, die Inschrift von Minua, dem Sohn und Nachfolger des Išpuini, heranzuziehen. Sie ist eingemeißelt auf einem Basaltstein aus Šušants/Kevenli²⁶ (Abb. 14-15), das 15 km östlich der Hauptstadt Tušpa, am Hang des Ereğ Dağı, liegt. Aus diesem Ort, an dem sich eine noch nicht ausgegrabene urartäische Siedlung befindet, stammen ausschließlich Inschriften des Minua, und fast alle beziehen sich auf die Gründung eines *susi*-Tempels, d.h. eines Turmtempels.²⁷

Dieser ist der am meisten belegte und archäologisch bekannteste Tempeltyp in Urartu. Einer der besterhaltenen ist der von Çavuştepe: ein viereckiger Bau mit Eckkrisaliten, eine einzige 5x5 m große Cella, mit sehr dicken Wänden. Diese architektonischen Charakteristika lassen vermuten, dass ein solcher Tempel sehr hoch war und den Eindruck eines Turmes erweckte. Man hat sie auch mit den achämenidischen Turmbauten, wie die Kabah-i Zardusht in Verbindung gebracht. Diese „*vexata quaestio*“ braucht hier nicht wieder aufgegriffen zu werden.

Dieser Text hat sechs Zeilen, von denen die drei ersten auf assyrisch verfasst sind und die weiteren drei auf urartäisch. Es ist aber keine Bilingue im eigentlichen Sinn, denn der zweite Teil ist nicht die Übersetzung des ersten.

CTU A 5-44

- 1 *a-na* ^D*ḫal-di-e* EN-šú ^m*mì-nu-u-a* DUMU ^m*iš-pu-ú-i-ni*
- 2 *i-si-tú šá* ^D*ḫal-di-e ir-ti-ši-ip* KÁ *šá* ^D*ḫal-di-e*
- 3 *a-di li-mid/be-di-šú ir-ti-ši-ip lib-bi* ^{URU}*ar-šu-ni-ú-nu ina pān*(IGI) ^{KUR}*ú-ra*¹
- 4 *ma-ni-ni* ^D*ḫal-di be-di-ni* ^D*ḫal-di-na-ni* KÁ *be-di-ni*
- 5 ^m*iš-pu-ú-i-ni-i-e* ^m*mì-nu-ú-a ul-gu-še* *ma-ni-ni* ^m*iš-pu-ú-i-ni-i*
- 6 ^m*mì-nu-a-i al-su-ú-i-ši e-i-a-ar-di-i-ši*

Meine Übersetzung lautet:

„(assy.) Dem Ḫaldi, seinem Herrn, hat Minua, der Sohn des Išpuini, einen Turm des Ḫaldi errichtet; er hat ein Tor des Ḫaldi errichtet bis zu seinem *limītu* (*liwītu*, *libītu*) [„Umfang/perimeter, borderline, edge“ d.h. bis zur Vollkommenheit] in der Stadt Aršuniunu, gegenüber dem Berg Ura.

(urart.) Möge sein von Seiten des Ḫaldi, von Seiten des Ḫaldi-Tores dem Išpuini und dem Minua Leben (sowie) des Išpuini und des Minua Größe (und) Löwenkraft²⁸.“

²⁶ CTU A 5-44. Erstveröffentlichung: Dinçol – Kavaklı 1978, 27.

²⁷ Belli – Salvini 2004, 155–174.

²⁸ Wegner 2007, 774 f. „Löwenhaftigkeit, Löwenmut“, auf Grund einer hurritischen Etymologie, nach *eiari* „Löwe“ (darüber Röseler 1999, 396, Anm. 3).

Zunächst knüpfen einige Besonderheiten des Duktus an die „Sardursburg“, wie die spitze Form der Winkelhaken oder die strichartige Fortsetzung der waagerechten Keile. Die sprachlich gemischte Verfassung dieses Textes ist eigenartig und einmalig. Bei meiner ersten Analyse hatte ich den Eindruck, dass auch der assyrische Teil des Textes sozusagen urartäisch gedacht oder einfach aus dem Urartäischen übersetzt worden war.²⁹ Das hat sich bestätigt, denn die wenigen Wörter und Wendungen erinnern an bekannte Formulierungen der urartäischen Bauinschriften. So bin ich zu folgender Rückübersetzung ins Urartäische gelangt, die m. E. Sinn hat und dazu verhilft, einiges in der urartäischen Sprache zu deuten und zu bestätigen.

- * ^DḪaldi=e euri=e ^mMinua=še Išpuini=hi=ni=še
- * ^DḪaldi=ei susi šidištu=ni ^DḪaldi=i=ni=li šešti=li
- * badusi=e šidištu=ali ^{URU}Aršuniuini=e ^{KUR}Ura=ni=kai

- a-na ^DḪal-di-e EN-šú entspricht dem urart. Dativ Ḫaldi=e euri=e

- ^mmì-nu-u-a DUMU ^miš-pu-ú-i-ni als Subjekt des transitiven Satzes erfordert den urart. Ergativ Minua=še Išpuiniḫini=še.

In Z. 2 wird man, dank dem Logogramm KÁ, sofort an die beiden Gebäude erinnert, die in den urartäischen Bauinschriften immer zusammen vorkommen, nämlich der *susi*-Tempel („Turmtempel“) und das Ḫaldi-Tor (Felsnische wie z. B. Meher Kapısı). Daher bietet sich die Gleichsetzung zw. assyrisch *isitu* und urartäisch *susi* an. Assyrisch *isitu* heißt „Turm“, somit wird die Deutung von *susi* als Turmtempel bestätigt.

Als Entsprechung zu a-di li-mid/be-di-šú bietet sich das urartäische Wort *badusie* an, m. E. eine Dativform auf -e, das immer in Zusammenhang mit dem Verb *šidištu*- „errichten, bauen“ vorkommt. Friedrich W. König³⁰ übersetzte *badusi* mit „Herrschaft, Macht“, Georgij A. Melikišvili (UKN S. 392) als Adjektiv „großartig, wunderbar“, immer auf Bauten bezogen.

limittu, s.v. *liwitu* AHW 558 „Umfang, Umhüllung, Umgebung“, CAD 191 „perimeter, circumference, borderline“. Wenn man die Kanten, den Umfang, die technische Ausführung der urartäischen Architektur beobachtet, kann man nicht umhin an einen Begriff wie „Perfektion“ zu denken. So möchte ich als Übersetzung für *badusie*, ein Substantiv im erstarrten Dativ, also „zur Perfektion“ vorschlagen.

Der Rest ist klar: „hat errichtet in der Stadt Aršuniunu gegenüber dem Berg Ura“, also auf urartäisch *Ura(=ni)=kai. Diese Interpretation stützt sich auf den Ortsnamen

²⁹ Salvini 1979, 575–593.

³⁰ König 1955–1957, 177.

Rusaḫinili Qilbani=kai und Rusaḫinili Eiduru=kai, die alten Namen von Toprakkale und Ayanis im 7. Jahrhundert.³¹

Wie schon bemerkt, ist die eigenartige „zweisprachige“ Konstruktion dieser Inschrift nicht ohne weiteres verständlich. Es gibt aber ein wichtiges Detail, das hervorgehoben werden muss. Ich habe den Text unter den Inschriften des Minua verbucht, jedoch bietet die urartäische Wunschformel, Z. 4-6, ein wichtiges Detail:

„Möge sein von Seiten des Ḫaldi, von Seiten des Ḫaldi-Tores dem Iṣpuini und dem Minua (zwei Dative) Leben (sowie) des Iṣpuini und des Minua Größe und Löwenkraft.“

Es ist klar, dass, obwohl Minua der Verfasser der Inschrift ist, der Vater Iṣpuini noch am Leben war, entweder während der Mitregentschaft oder nachdem er schon abgedankt hatte. Aber Minua trägt keine Königstitulatur, daher ist der Bau des Tempels in Kevenli (Arṣuniuni) wohl als Initiative noch während seiner Kronprinzenzeit zu deuten. In diesem Dokument sehe ich ein weiteres Indiz dafür, dass die assyrisch-sprachliche Tradition, in der das Reich Urartu gegründet wurde, noch unter Iṣpuini anhielt. Man könnte argumentieren, der Gebrauch des Assyrischen sei eine Huldigung, eine Hommage von Minua an seinen Vater gewesen. Man denke an die Situla, und das wird, glaube ich, klarer, wenn man das nächste Dokument in Betracht zieht.

Vor kurzer Zeit ist ein neues interessantes Schriftdenkmal ans Tageslicht gekommen,³² das die Vorliebe des zweiten Königs der urartäischen Dynastie, Iṣpuini, für die assyrische Sprache bestätigt. Bei Ausgrabungen des Oberen Anzaf Kale sind fünf Bronzeringe gefunden worden, die alle dieselbe kurze assyrische Widmung tragen (Abb. 16). Die Inschriften sind auf diesen Beutestücken aus dem nördlichen Land Uteruḫi nachträglich angebracht worden. Das Land Uteruḫi wird am Oberlauf des Araxes lokalisiert.³³ Der allen gemeinsame Text lautet:

[CTU B³⁴ 2-7]

šīl-li ^Dḫal-di-e ^miš-pu-ú-i-ni apil(A) ^{mD}sar₅-dūri šárru(MAN) rabū(GAL-ú³⁵)
 šárru(MAN) dan-nu šar₄³⁶ kiššati(ŠÚ) šar₄^{KUR} na-i-ri ^{URU}ú-ti-ru-ḫi-e-i tīl-lī an-ni-ú
 bi-bu ištu(TA) lib-bi³⁷ na-ši ana ^Dḫal-di-e belī(EN)-šú [...] ana napištī(ZI)-šú
 iqīš(BA)

³¹ Salvini 1988, 134; Çilingiroğlu – Salvini 1995, 111–120.

³² Edition durch Belli et al. 2009, 91–124.

³³ Arutjunjan 1985, 201–203.

³⁴ Demnächst in CTU Vol. IV.

³⁵ Das phonetische Komplement fehlt auf den Ringen 1 und 5.

³⁶ Fehlt auf Ring 5.

³⁷ libbi fehlt auf den Ringen 1 und 3.

Die Herausgeber der Stücke übersetzen folgendermaßen:

“The shadow of the God Haldi, Išpuini, son of Sarduri, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of the Land Nairi took away this votive object out of the storehouse of the city of Witeruhi (and) dedicated (it) to his own good health.”

Leicht abweichend von der Editio Princeps verstehe ich den Text wie folgt:

„(Dank dem) Schutz des Ḫaldi, Išpuini, Sohn des Sarduri, großer König, mächtiger König, König der Gesamtheit, König von Nairi,³⁸ hat dieses *bibu* aus dem Arsenal(?) der Stadt Uṭiruhī hergebracht [oder: hat aus der Stadt Uṭiruhī dieses *tillu* (sowie) *bibu* hergebracht] (und) hat es dem Ḫaldi, seinem Herrn, für sein Leben dargeboten.“

Die Konstruktion ist ganz eigenartig, denn *ištu libbi* sollte vor ^{URU}Uṭiruhī stehen, wie in der assyr. Fassung (Abb. 10) der Kelišin-Stele (CTU A 3-11), nämlich: Z. 27/28 TA *lib-bi* K[^{MEŠ}Ā] / [šā] ^[D]ḫal-¹di-e¹ „aus dem Tor des Ḫaldi“. Ferner trägt Uṭiruhī anscheinend das Suffix des urartäischen Genitivs -ei. Man hätte auf akkadisch erwartet: *ištu(TA) libbi ša* ^{URU}Uṭiruhī.

Zunächst erkenne ich in *šil-li* ^Dḫal-di-e die urartäische Wendung ^Dḫal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni, das stets die Inschriften des Išpuini einleitet. Und das bietet die genaue Übersetzung des Substantivs *ušmaše*, das in Verbindung mit dem Namen des Nationalgottes Ḫaldi vorkommt; es heißt also nicht mehr „Durch die Macht des Ḫaldi“, sondern „Durch den Schutz / Dank dem Schutz des Ḫaldi“. Wir gewinnen somit folgende Wortgleichung: *šillu* = *ušmaše*, „Schutz, Protektion“.

Der letzte Satz wiederum gibt urartäisch *ulgušiani edini* wieder, eine Wortfolge, die in dieser Endposition regelmäßig auf Bronzetexten belegt ist und welche „für sein Leben“ bedeutet.

iqiš(BA) entspricht urartäisch *uš-ti-ni* „hat dargeboten“, das ebenfalls häufig auf Bronzeobjekten vorkommt.

Natürlich kann ich hier nicht alle Details dieses interessanten Textes analysieren. Ich weise nur noch auf die beiden Wörter *til-li* (früher *BE-LI* gelesen) und *bi-bu* hin, die schon in der Kelišin-Stele vorkommen, und mir viel Kopfzerbrechen verursachen. Wie auch immer, ähnlich wie bei der oben besprochenen Inschrift Minuas aus Kevenli, schlage ich folgende Entsprechung mit einem rekonstruierten urartäischen Text vor:

³⁸ Diese ist die Titulatur seines Vaters Sarduri: CTU A 1-1.

^{šil-li} ^Dhal-di-e ^miš-pu-ú-i-ni apil(A) ^{mD}sar₅-dūri šárru(MAN)
 *^DḪaldinini ušmašini Išpuiniše Sarduriḫiniše MAN
 rabū(GAL-ú) šárru(MAN) dan-nu šar₄ kiššati(ŠÚ) šar₄ ^{KUR}na-i-ri
 *alsuini MAN tara(i)e MAN šuraue MAN Biainaue
^{URU}ú-ṭi-ru-ḫi-e-i til-li an-ni-ú bi-bu ištu(TA) lib-bi na-ši ana ^Dhal-di-e
 *ini urišḫi (eue) BI-BU Uṭeruḫinini naḫuni Ḫaldie
 belī(EN)-šú [?] ana napištī(ZI)-šú iqīš(BA)
 *eurie ulgušiani edini uštuni

Eine Kartierung der Fundorte assyrischer Texte in Urartu ergibt eine Art roten Faden, der Urartu wieder mit Assyrien verknüpft. Die gesamte urartäische Geschichte stand ja unter dem kulturellen assyrischen Einfluss.

Ist es ein Zufall, dass auf den Keşiş-Göl-Stelen³⁹, die letzten bedeutenden Schrift-denkmäler der Urartäer, die hier in Abb. 17 rekonstruiert sind, unter den beopferten Gottheiten zum ersten und wohl letzten Mal auch Gott Aššur erscheint (Abb. 18)?

³⁹ CTU A 14-1, A 14-2.

KÖNIGREICH URARTU

Chronologische Tabelle mit assyrischen Synchronismen⁴⁰

Assyrische Könige	Synchronismen	Urartäische Könige
Salmanassar III. (858-824 v.Chr.)	erwähnt Aramu, den Urartäer (Jahre 859, 856, 844)	[kein Schriftdenkmal des Aramu] Schriftdenkmäler ab Sarduri I. = Sarduri I., Sohn des Lutipri* [* keine Inschrift]
Salmanassar III. (Jahr 832)	erwähnt Seduri, den Urartäer (ca. 840-830)	
Šamši-Adad V. (823-811)	erwähnt Ušpina (Jahr 820)	= Išpuini, Sohn des Sarduri (ca. 830-820) Koregenz von Išpuini und Minua (ca. 820-810) Minua, Sohn des Išpuini (ca. 810-785/780)
Salmanassar IV. (781-772)	erwähnt Argištu/i (774)	= Argišti I., Sohn des Minua (785/780-756)
Assur-nirari V. (754-745)	wird erwähnt von	Sarduri II., Sohn des Argišti (756-ca. 730)
Tiglatpileser III. (744-727)	erwähnt Sarduri, Sardaurri (Jahre 743, 735?)	= Sarduri II.
Sargon (721-705)	erwähnt Ursā, Rusā erwähnt Argišta (709)	= Rusa I., Sohn des Sarduri (ca. 730-713) = Argišti II., Sohn des Rusa (713- ?)
Sanherib (704-681)	[kein Synchronismus	-]
Asarhaddon (681-669)	erwähnt Ursā (673/672)	= Rusa II., Sohn des Argišti (erste Hälfte des VII. Jh.)

⁴⁰ Nach CTU Vol. I, S. 23.

Assurbanipal
(669-627)

erwähnt Rusā (652)

Erimena (^{LÜ}ašuli?)

= Rusa III., Sohn des Erimena

Sarduri (^{LÜ}ašuli??), Sohn Rusas III.
[UPD 1 = CTU CT Kb-1]

erwähnt Sarduri
(646/642)

= Sarduri III., Sohn des Sarduri
[Schild KB 57-219 = CTU B 16-1]

Abkürzungen

AHw W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (3 Bände), Wiesbaden 1965-1981

CAD Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago 1956 ff.)

CTU M. Salvini, Corpus dei testi urartei (3 Bände, Rom 2008; 4. und 5. Band in Vorbereitung)

RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie I (Berlin und Leipzig 1928), II (Berlin und Leipzig 1938), seit Band III (Berlin-New York 1957ff) Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie

SMEA Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Rom 1962 ff.)

UKN G. A. Melikišvili, Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi, Moskau 1960

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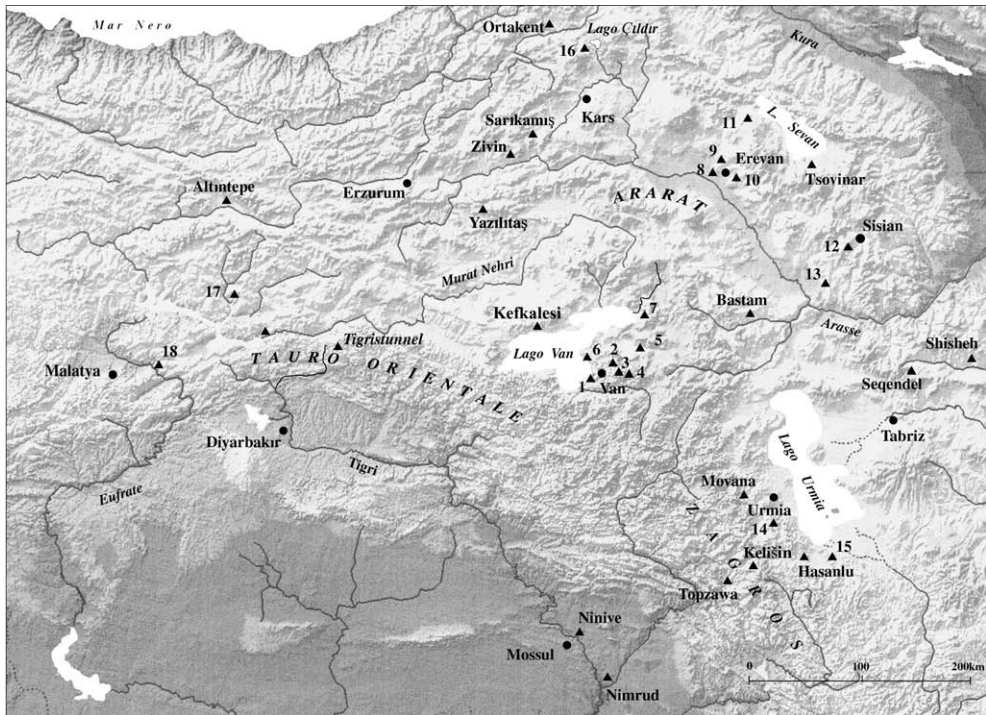


Abb. 1 - Das Territorium des urartäischen Reiches mit den wichtigsten Inschriftenfundorten. Außer den namentlich aufgezeichneten: 1. Van Kalesi; 2. Toprakkale; 3. Anzaf; 4. Keşiş Göl; 5. Karagündüz; 6. Ayanis; 7. Karahan; 8. Karmir-blur; 9. Elar; 10. Arin-berd; 11. Lčašen; 12. Thanahat; 13. Ilandağ; 14. Mahmud Abad; 15. Taştepe; 16. Taşköprü.



Abb. 2 - Relief und Inschrift Tiglatpileser I. am Tigris­tunnel.



Abb. 3 - Relief und Inschrift
Salmanassars III. am
Tigris­tunnel; obere Höhle.



Abb. 4 - Die "Sardursburg" am Fuße des Van Felsens.

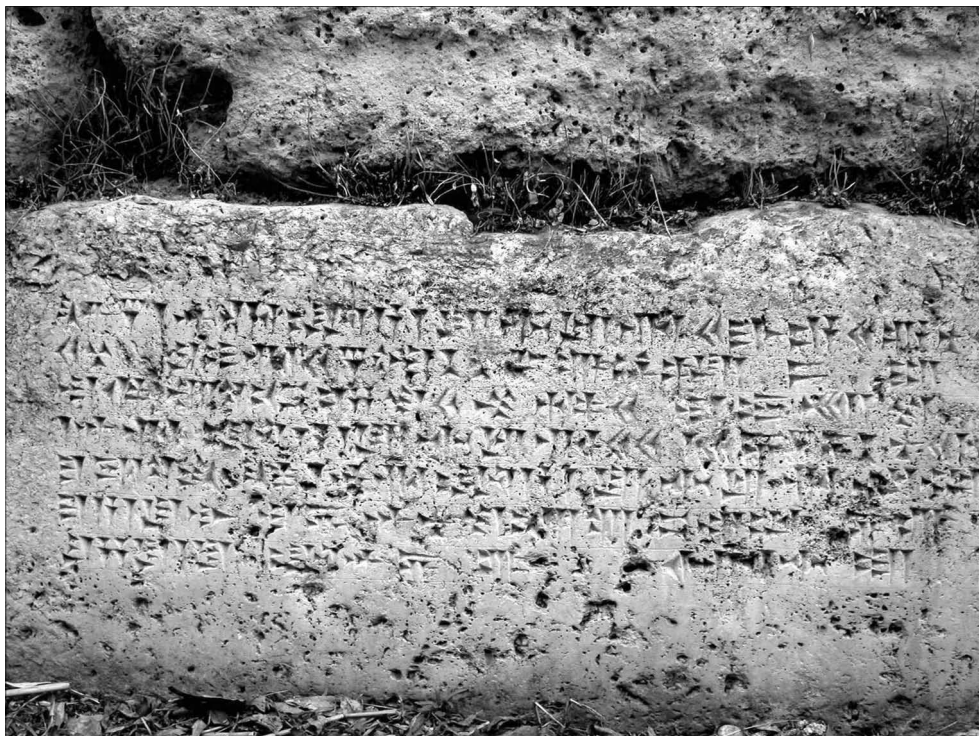


Abb. 5 - Eine der Duplikatinschriften Sarduris I. an der “Sardursburg” (CTU A 1-1D).

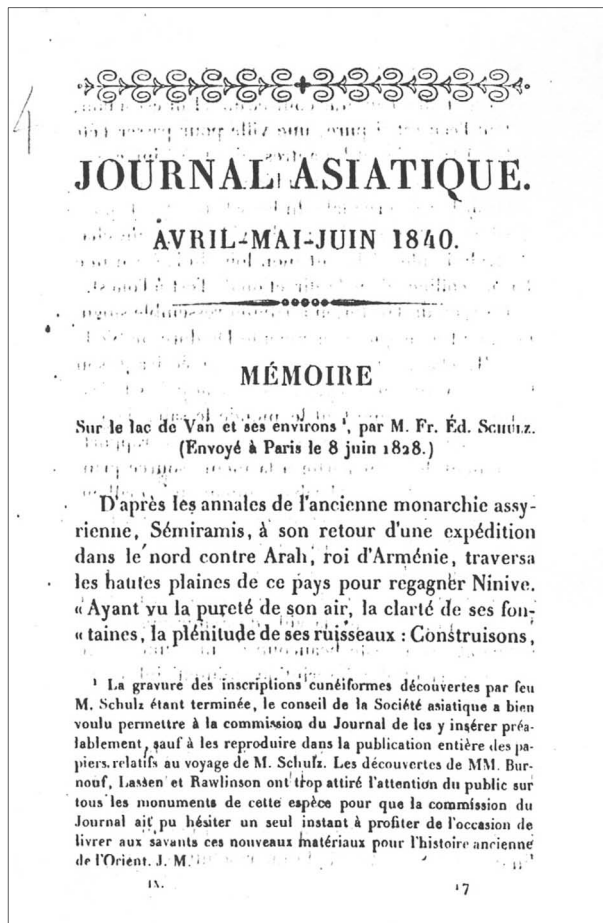


Abb. 6 - Friedrich Eduard Schulz, Anfangsseite der ersten Edition der urartäischen Inschriften im "Journal Asiatique" 1840.



Abb. 7 - Felsinschrift Argištiš I. (CTU A 8-13) in Javanqaleh bei Ajabšir (Iranisch Azerbeidjan).



Abb. 8 - Assyrische Opferinschrift in einer Felsnische auf dem Van Kalesi (CTU A 1-2).



Abb. 9 - Der Kelišin-Pass mit der Stele in situ, am 3. August 1976.

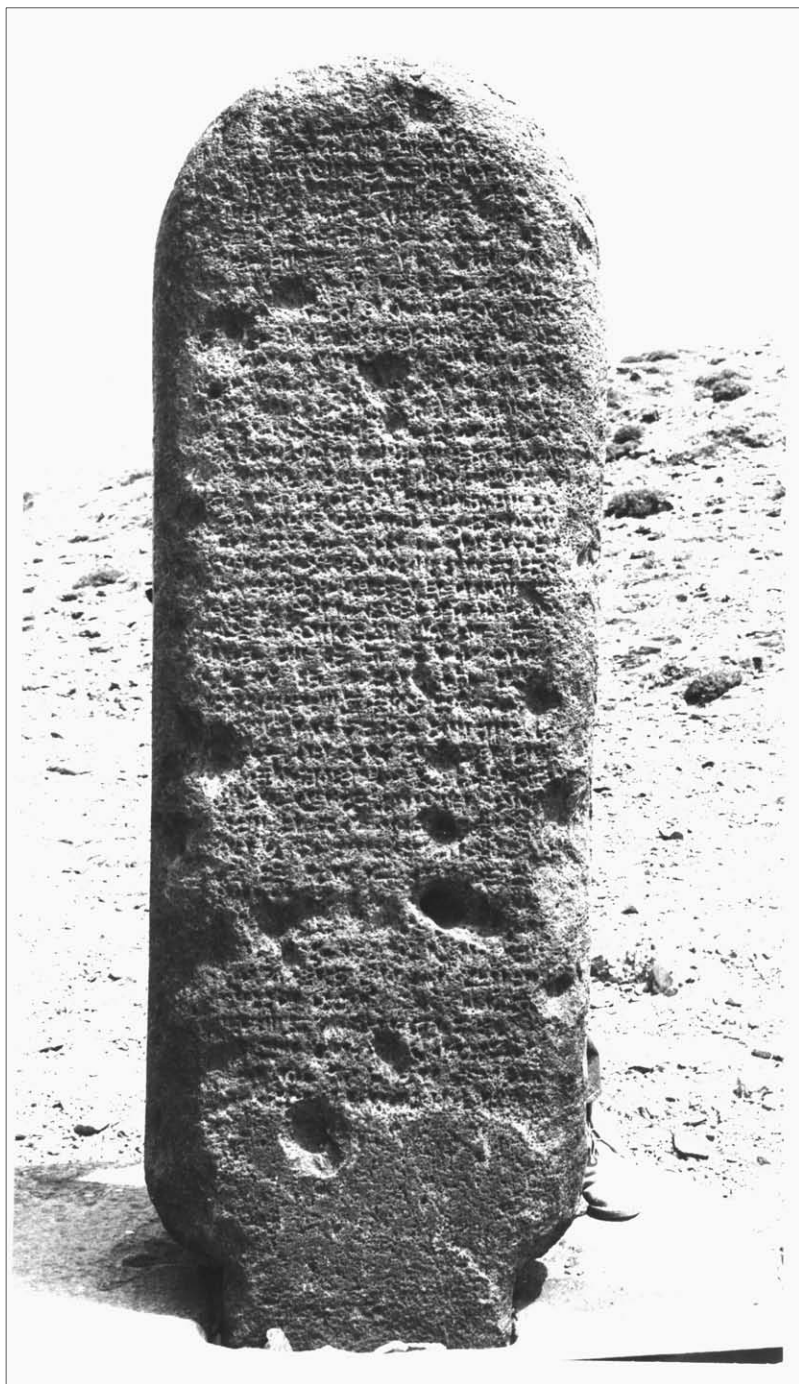


Abb. 10 - Die assyrische Fassung der Kelišin-Stele.

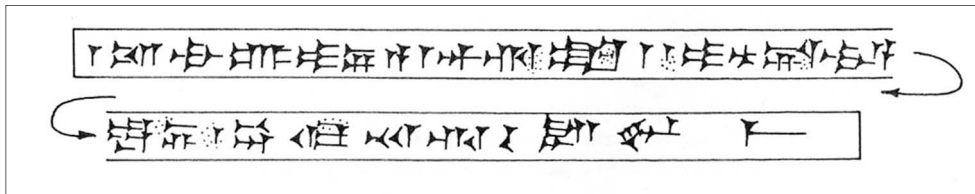


Abb. 11 - Autographie der assyrischen Widmung Išpuinis an Inušpua auf eine Silbersitula (demnächst als CTU B 2-4).

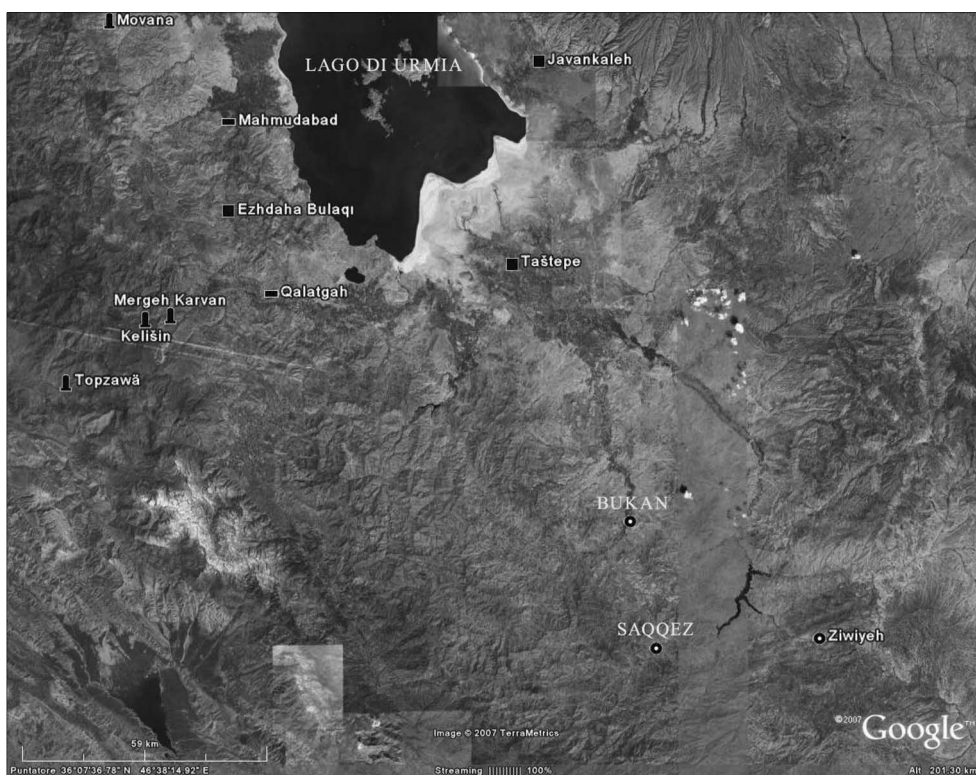


Abb. 12 - Die urartäischen Inschriftenfunde im südlichen Urmia-Zagros-Gebiet.



Abb. 13 - Die Stele Rusas I. in Topzawa (Irakisch Kurdistan).
Expedition Cameron 1951.



Abb. 14 - Die Provinz von Van mit den urartäischen Fundorten.



Abb. 15 - Die Tempelinschrift CTU A 5-44 von Minua aus Kevenli.

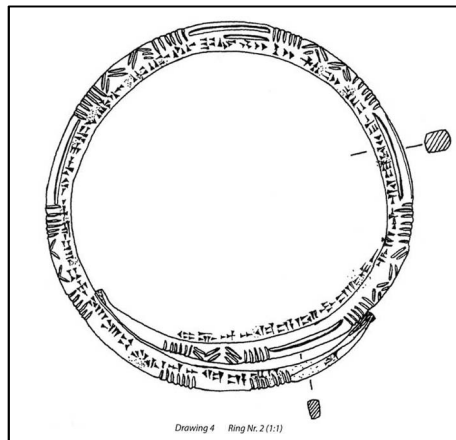


Abb. 16 - Einer der beschrifteten Bronzeringe des Išpuini aus dem oberen Anzaf-Kale, aus O. Belli - A. Dinçol - B. Dinçol, „Colloquium Anatolicum“ VIII, 2009, 91-124, Abb. 4.

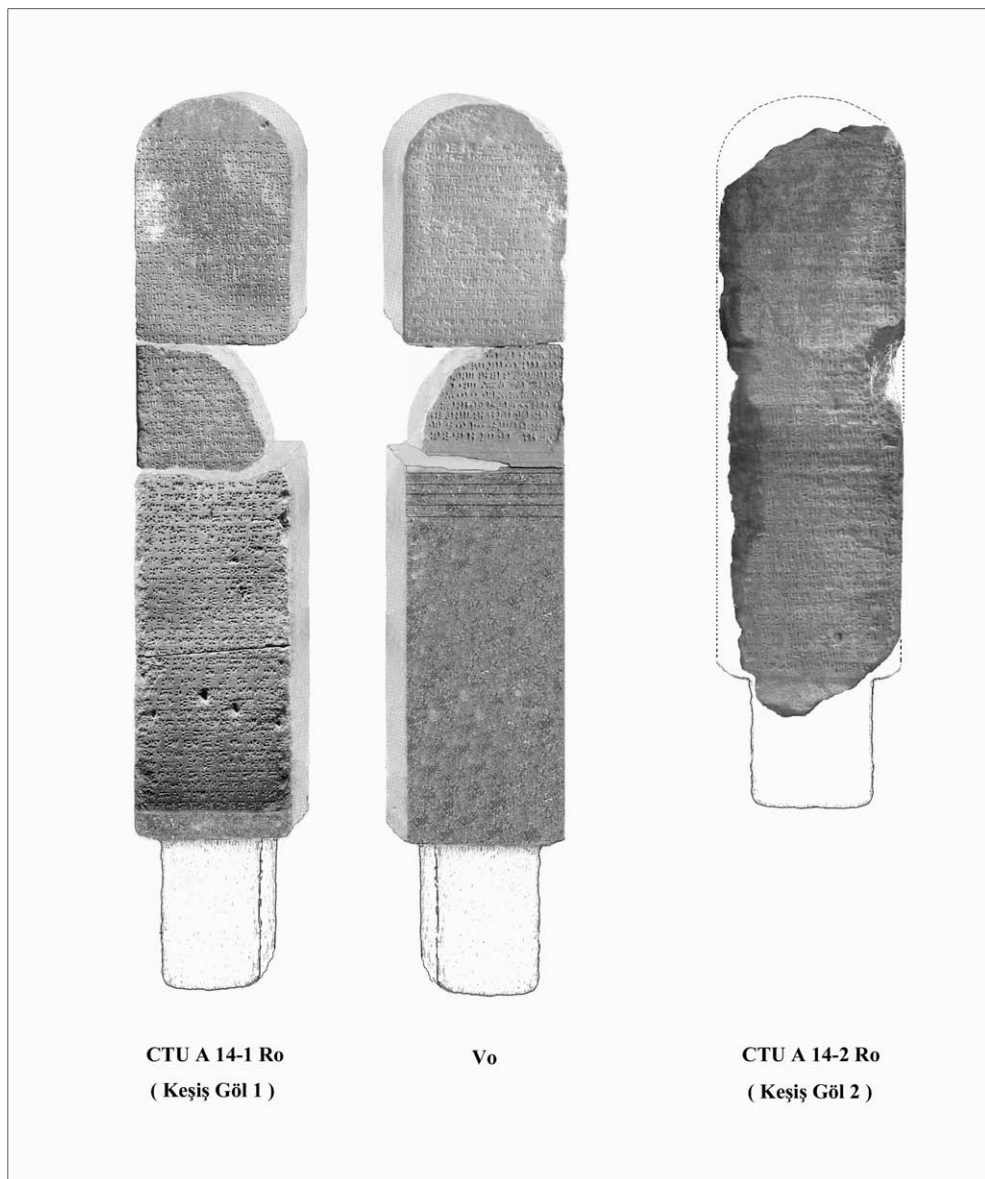


Abb. 17 - Die Stelen Rusas III. aus dem Keşiş Göl; s. M. Salvini, SMEA 48, 2006, 250.

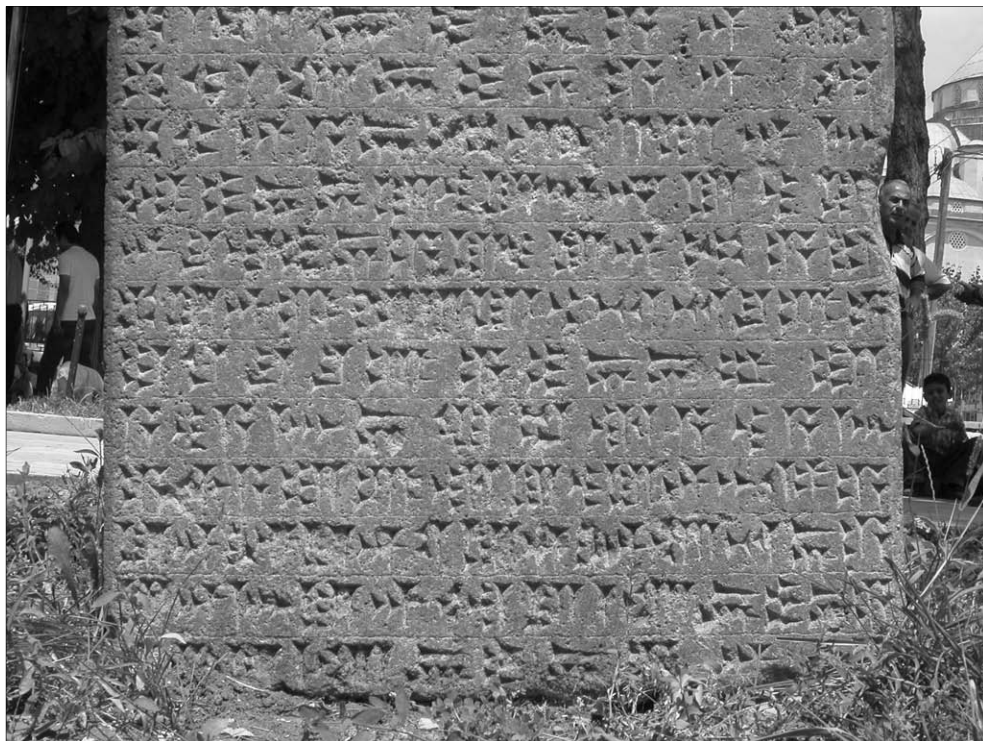


Abb. 18 - Rückseite der Stele von Gövelek (Keşiş Göl 1 = CTU A 14-1) mit dem Tieropfer an Gott Aššur (4. Z. von oben auf dem Photo).

DANIEL SCHWEMER*

Gauging the influence of Babylonian magic:

The reception of Mesopotamian traditions in Hittite ritual practice

A large body of Hittite ‘magic’ rituals¹ has come down to us among the tablets and fragments found at Hattusa. This body of texts may be subdivided into smaller groups according to criteria such as the provenance of an individual text, the purpose of a ritual or the main actors involved in a ritual’s performance. The provenance of a ritual can be indicated by an explicit association of the ritual’s ‘author’ with a specific city or by proper names mentioned in the ritual text itself, but the most important indicator of a ritual’s provenance are its linguistic characteristics. Accordingly, two major groups of rituals are distinguished: Hittite, Hittite-Hattic and Hittite-Luwian rituals of central and western Anatolian provenance on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the Hurro-Hittite Kizzuwatna rituals which combine Hurro-Mesopotamian, Syrian and southern Anatolian traditions.²

There was, for all we know, no distinct group of Hittite magic rituals that would form a ‘Babylonian group’ comparable to the Kizzuwatna rituals; it is, nevertheless, widely assumed that Babylonian ritual conceptions and techniques had a deep impact on the ritual practice reflected in Hittite texts.³ Similarities between techniques employed in Hittite and Babylonian magic rituals are not in short supply, and several factors seem to suggest that such similarities are most reasonably to be interpreted as the result of cultural borrowing:

The Hittites adopted cuneiform from a scribal tradition that used the script primarily for writing Akkadian, and, with the adoption of cuneiform, a certain amount of Babylonian texts that formed part of the traditional scribal curriculum would be introduced at

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¹ The conventional term ‘magic’ rituals is meant to refer to ceremonial rituals with therapeutic intention in contrast to temple rituals (‘festivals’, ‘liturgies’) and in contrast to prescriptions for the preparation and application of medications. The term is not meant to imply that ‘magical’ techniques and conceptions are absent from the two latter text groups.

² For a discussion of the Kizzuwatna ritual tradition and the problem of its definition, see now Miller 2004, 441–532 with comprehensive bibliography.

³ Scholars differ in their appraisal of the degree to which Hittite rituals were influenced by Babylonian exorcistic lore. While Haas (e.g., 2003, 36–39; 2007), Beckman 2008, 347 and Taracha (e.g., 2000, 149–151 and Taracha 2001) tend to assume a comprehensive influence of Babylonian rituals on their Hittite counterparts, others have argued for a more cautious approach (e.g., Kümmel 1967, 98, Klinger 2002, 147, Christiansen 2006, 298–304, Schwemer 2007, 255–76).

the Hittite royal court, probably together with foreign scribes who became part of the Hittite administrative elite.⁴

Moreover, Babylonian literature was held in high regard by Hittite scribes and was readily embraced where it showed the Hittite realm to have formed part of ‘world history’ from early on, or where it provided a remedy for apparent deficiencies of the Hittites’ own literary tradition. Thus, stories about expeditions to the west of Babylonian kings like Gilgameš and Sargon became part of Hittite literature,⁵ and Babylonian hymns and prayers addressed to deities who had the same typological profile as major deities of the Hittite pantheon were translated into Hittite, a process that did not fail to have a lasting impact on the composition of Hittite prayers.⁶

Finally, it is well known that exorcists (*āšipu*) and physicians (*asû*) were among the Babylonian experts permanently resident at the Hittite royal court during the 13th century.⁷ There is no explicit evidence for Assyrian exorcists active at Hattusa, but it seems more likely than not that healing experts from northern Mesopotamia and, indeed, Syria were recruited by Hittite kings likewise. Some of these foreign scholars never returned to their homeland and raised families in Anatolia; their sons would bear Hittite names, but their fathers’ expertise would probably be passed down at least one generation, resulting in a group of entirely bilingual scribes who were familiar with both the cuneiform used by the Hittite royal administration and the Mesopotamian writing traditions they were exposed to when educated by their fathers.⁸ The prisms KBo 19, 98 and 99

⁴ On the adoption of cuneiform in Hittite Anatolia, see most recently van den Hout 2009 (with comprehensive bibliography and an overview of past and current scholarship).

⁵ For the adaptation of Mesopotamian ‘historical’ traditions by the Hittites and the function of these texts in shaping Hittite identity, see Gilan 2008.

⁶ The following hymns and prayers are attested in Hittite translation: storm-god: *CTH* 313 (see Archi 1983), *CTH* 314 (see Laroche 1964, Schwemer 2001, 191–196); Ištar: *CTH* 312 (Reiner – Güterbock 1967); sun-god: *CTH* 792.1, cf. also *CTH* 372–74, 376 (see Singer 2002, no.s 4a–c and 8, Schwemer, forthcoming). On the adoption of Babylonian hymns and prayers at Hattusa, see generally Wilhelm 1994a.

⁷ The evidence was put together by Kümmel 1967, 97 f. and, more comprehensively, by Beckman 1983. The most important sources are the letters KBo 1, 10+ (see Beckman 1999a, no. 23) and KUB 3, 71; furthermore, the related oracle report KBo 16, 99 obv. II 8–13 must be mentioned (see Alaura 1999, 19 f.). On the physician Rabâ-ša-Marduk, mentioned in KBo 1, 10+, see now Heeßel 2009.

⁸ That foreign scribes settled down at Hattusa and founded families transpires from KBo 1, 10+ rev. 42–48 (Beckman 1983). For sons of foreign experts active as scribes, cf. Ḫanikkuili, son of the Assyrian scribe Anu-šar-ilānī (KBo 19, 99 b: 1’–2’, MS, Akkadian legend of Naram-Sin) and GUR-Šarumma, son of EN-UR.SAG (KUB 37, 210 rev. 3’–4’, ‘non-Hittite’ script, Akkadian diagnostic text). The attractive hypothesis that the 13th century scribe Ḫanikkuili is a descendant of Ḫanikkuili, son of Anu-šar-ilānī (Beckman 1983, 103–106, cf. also Miller 2004, 37 f.) is, however, still unproven; also note that in view of his own name and in view of the deities mentioned in his son’s colophon Anu-šar-ilānī was certainly an Assyrian, not a Babylonian scribe (perhaps an interpreter, see *HZZ*, p. 90 ad BAL). Whether GUR-Šarumma was the son of the Assyrian ambassador EN-UR.SAG (cf. Singer 2007, 717 f., Beckman 1983, 108) remains unknown. That foreign scribes

(Hittite ductus, MS), inscribed with Akkadian legends of Narām-Sîn, would represent typical by-products of such a training.⁹

Thus, the general cultural context supports the assumption that similarities between Hittite and Babylonian therapeutic rituals should be regarded as a consequence of the integration of Babylonian ritualistic lore by Hittite experts into their ritual practice (diffusionist model).

Magic rituals, however, are an exceptionally rich source for cross-cultural similarities which emerge independently in many different cultures; examples for such common traits include, e.g.,

- the combination of spoken word and symbolic gestures,
- the use of representations and the reliance on the concept of analogy more generally,
- the inclusion of the natural environment into the ritual proceedings (e.g., the contrast between human habitations and remote places or between darkness and light),
- the use of temporary buildings like ritual huts,
- the location of the abode of the dead underground and its use as a safe repository,
- the conceptualization of illness as a state of being bound.

Especially since Hittite Anatolia and second millennium Mesopotamia form part of a common larger cultural area and share the same level of civilization, the possibility of cross-cultural similarities that are not due to contemporal cultural borrowing should not be dismissed too easily. The sheer existence of a rich local Anatolian tradition of magic rituals demands that potential examples of cultural borrowing stand up to close methodological scrutiny, and the decisive criteria for identifying borrowed ritual motifs and techniques must be (a) their specificity (e.g., an Akkadian loanword like *apiši-* “exorcist”),¹⁰ (b) their exceptionality and unexpectedness (e.g., the use of dates in a Hittite

resident at Hattusa would teach their sons and other young scribes seems only natural; the activities of the Babylonian scholar Marduk-nādin-aḥḫē who resided in Aššur provide a nice parallel (see Wiggermann 2008).

⁹ Ed. Westenholz 1997, 280–293; the prism is a typical format of scribal exercises (see Veldhuis 1997, 28–31), other examples from Hattusa include KBo 26, 2; 4; 5(+) 6; 53 (ed. Civil 1987); 56; KBo 36, 72 and KBo 1, 18 (see *infra*). For the colophon of KBo 19, 99, see the preceding fn.

¹⁰ See *infra*, section (5).

ritual)¹¹ and (c), ideally, their occurrence within a context that contains not only one isolated, apparently borrowed motif, but a number of words, motifs and actions for which an origin in the tradition of Babylonian ritual and incantation literature seems plausible.¹²

Taking these criteria into account, one can identify five major groups of texts which clearly exhibit Babylonian traits or originate in Babylonia: (1) Hittite rituals of Hurro-Mesopotamian provenance containing Babylonian motifs as integral parts of the ritual proceedings, (2) Hittite rituals of Hurro-Mesopotamian provenance containing Babylonian text passages, (3) manuscripts of Babylonian magic rituals and incantations which were found at Hattusa, (4) Hittite translations of Babylonian rituals, and (5) Hittite adaptations of Babylonian rituals.

(1) Hittite rituals of Hurro-Mesopotamian provenance containing Babylonian motifs as integral part of the ritual proceedings:

Not surprisingly, Hurrian ritual lore, like Hurrian religious concepts generally, acquired many Babylonian features during the long-lasting presence of Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia since the second half of the third millennium.¹³ When Hurro-Mesopotamian rituals were translated into Hittite, possibly already in Kizzuwatna, but certainly by Hittite scribes collecting, redacting and copying ‘Kizzuwatna rituals’¹⁴, such Babylonian traits would be preserved and incorporated into Hittite ritual practice without their roots necessarily even being recognized. A typical example for such a text is the temple building ritual CTH 415 (all sources MH/NS), whose provenance is clearly indicated by the performance of an *ambašši*- and a *keldi*-offering as well as references to the *ahrušhi*-censer, the *huprušhi*-vessel and an *ayakki*-temple model.¹⁵ The

¹¹ For the use of dates in a Hittite ritual translated from an Akkadian original, see *infra*, section (4). Dates had to be imported into Anatolia, they are only rarely used in Hittite rituals. The only attestation of apparently non-Babylonian provenance quoted by Haas 2003, 271 f. is the unpublished fragment 1328/z: 8 (𒀭_{U4}.𒀭_{IN} “unripe date”, see Ertem 1974, 137).

¹² Of course any potential examples must be plausible and correctly read in the first place. Haas 2003, 39. 123 claims that 𒀭_{IN} is used in KBo 34, 92 + ABoT 34 obv. II 11’ as a rare Sumerogram for Akkadian *maššītu* “ingredients”, but instead of alleged 𒀭_{IN} 𒀭_{KIRI6} “ingredients of the garden” one must certainly read 𒀭_{IN}.IS^{sar} “salad”; the use of the Akkadogram *ŠIPAT* for Hittite *hukmai*- “incantation” as such says nothing about any Babylonian influence on the texts in question (*pace* Haas 2003, 38). Taracha 2000, 149–151 compares KUB 24, 12 with the Babylonian *zikurudū* ritual *BAM* 449 which, as far as I can see, is not even similar to the Hittite text. A full edition of the Babylonian ritual is given in Abusch – Schwemer 2011 (text 10.3: *BAM* 449 (+) 458 // *BAM* 454 (+) 455 (+) 467 // Sm 1304 // *SMEA* 30, 245 no. 27).

¹³ See Wilhelm 1989, 49–76.

¹⁴ For the problem of how, where and when the Kizzuwatna rituals were translated and written down in Hittite, see Miller 2004, 469–532.

¹⁵ The text (KBo 15, 24 + 24, 109 + KUB 32, 137 // KBo 13, 114) was edited in exemplary fashion by Kellerman 1980, 158–198.

preserved passages of the ritual are concerned with the consecration of the ground for the inner sanctum, which is invoked to admit only the deity for whom the temple is to be erected and to keep out “(any) other evil, angry deity”.¹⁶ Then, foundation deposits are lowered into the ground: four figurines of a deity with the Sumerian name Nin-é-mu-un-dù “Lady (or: Lord) who erected the house” are placed in the four corners; a figurine of a winged bull is deposited in the place of the central pillar.¹⁷ While Ninemundu is, as yet, not attested elsewhere, the deity should be compared with carpenter-gods of Enki-Ea’s circle like Ninagal or Ninildu. This is confirmed by the subsequent ritual proceedings, during which Ea takes a prominent role and receives offerings not only together with Ninemundu,¹⁸ but also together with Hēpat and the Babylonian brick-god Kulla; the latter is attested only here in Hittite texts.¹⁹ Thus, with the adoption of the present ritual at Hattusa, distinctively Babylonian traditions found their way into Hittite ritual practice without any actual knowledge by Hittite scribes of the Babylonian building rituals from which these elements were ultimately derived.

(2) *Hittite rituals of Hurro-Mesopotamian provenance containing Babylonian text passages:*

Akkadian recitations within Hittite rituals are extremely rare. Except for translations of Babylonian rituals — see *infra*, (4) — they occur only within one fragmentarily preserved purification ritual (or rituals?) dubbed ‘*papilili*-ritual’ by modern scholarship following its frequent instructions to recite *papilili* “in Babylonian” (CTH 718).²⁰ The ritual was performed over several days and shares many features with typical Kizzuwatna rituals, in particular with the ritual for the expansion of the cult of the Deity of the Night (CTH 481) and the closely related document of Mursili II regulating the cult of the Deity of the Night at Samuha after its introduction there by his forefather, Tuthaliya I (CTH 482).²¹

As far as preserved, the *papilili*-ritual as a whole bears little resemblance to a Babylonian ritual; rather, its structure, ritual actions and vocabulary are such that, if it were not for the Akkadian recitations, any specifically Babylonian influence would be difficult to identify.²² The Akkadian recitations seem to be restricted primarily to invoca-

¹⁶ KUB 32, 137+ obv. II 1–6 // KBo 13, 114 obv. I 21’–25” (Kellerman 1980, 166, ii 1–6), *ta-ma-i-in-ma-za-an* DINGIR-LAM HUL-lu-un-na *ša-ga-in-na* in l. 3–4.

¹⁷ KBo 15, 24+ obv. II 27’–32’ // KBo 13, 114 obv. II 1’–4’ (Kellerman 1980, 168, ii 48–53).

¹⁸ See KBo 15, 24+ rev. III 25”–36” // KBo 13, 114 rev. III 18–21 (Kellerman 1980, 171, iii 36–47).

¹⁹ [^d]é-a ^dgul-la-an ^dhé-pat in KBo 13, 114 rev. III 12. The writing ^dgul-la-an was correctly recognized as representing Kulla by Kellerman 1980, 197 f. (not Gula, *pace* Haas 1994, 255).

²⁰ For the *papilili* ritual, see Goetze 1964, 94–96 and Beckman 2002, cf. also Miller 2004, 432–437, Strauß 2006, 189–215.

²¹ For the close relationship between these texts, see Miller, *loc. cit.*, and Strauß, *loc. cit.*

²² The overall structure of the tablet for the second day, with its inventory of ritual materials at the beginning of the text (KUB 39, 71 obv. I 10–21), is typical of Kizzuwatna rituals. Of course the rit-

tions addressed to Ištar-Pirinkir, the main deity of the ritual,²³ while other *legomena* are given in Hittite.²⁴ The Akkadian recitations ask Ištar to accept the offerings and to release the patient's sins. The Akkadian exhibits all the hallmarks of second millennium peripheral Akkadian: indifferent rendering of voiced, unvoiced and 'emphatic' stops, writing of Akkadian *s* with signs of the Š-series, irregular plene-writings of vowels and consonants and, finally, the use of MUNUS.LUGAL as a logogram for *šarratu*,²⁵ furthermore, the language shows some marked archaic features which seem to indicate that the origins of the recitations reach back at least to the early second millennium.²⁶ Occasionally, the Akkadian text is so corrupt that it has become incomprehensible. Variants between the individual manuscripts may indicate that some of these corruptions were introduced by Hittite scribes who had difficulties in understanding the Akkadian passages,²⁷ but other grammatical errors (2nd fem. sg. forms without the ending -ī) and oddities (*akālu* Š "to cause to feed" instead of expected "to cause to eat") are difficult to explain as later corruptions of an originally correct text.²⁸

ual shares a number of ritual techniques with Babylonian ritual practice (offerings, dismissal of evil forces by boat, the use of animals as substitutes), and in light of its obvious dependence on a Babylonian model they may, in this case, be derived from this model. But the terminology used in the ritual instructions is Hurro-Hittite, and the substitute animals are called *nakkušši*- (rev. IV 22–27), not *mašhulduppū* as one would expect in a Babylonian ritual.

²³ For Pirinkir, see Beckman 1999b and 2002, 37 f., cf. also Miller 2004, 363 with fn. 520. 363–396.

²⁴ For Hittite recitations, see KUB 39, 71 rev. IV 17–21, 90: 7'–8' and KBo 7, 29 obv. II 9'–14'. For KUB 39, 78 obv. I 22'–25' // 80: 5'–8', where an Akkadian recitation seems not to be addressed to Ištar-Pirinkir, see *infra*.

²⁵ See Beckman 2002, 40 f.; for the spelling of Akkadian stops cf., e.g., *be-el-di* for *bēlī* *passim*, *ki-il-la-ti-šu* for *gillātīšu* (KUB 39, 88 rev. IV 5), *ta-pa-a-du* for *tābātu* (KUB 39, 71 rev. III 22) and *ta-a-ab* for *tāb* (HT 5: 22' — but *ta-ab* in KUB 32, 1+ rev. IV 14'), *ḫi-it-ta-ti-šu* for *ḫītātīšu*, *ḫe-e-ti* for *ḫīti* (KUB 39, 88 rev. IV 6); for irregular double-writings of consonants, cf. *šu-uk-ke-el* (*passim*, probably for *šūkil* with Goetze 1964, 94b and Beckman 2002, 39, *pace* CAD Š III 219b s.v. *šukkulu* "to wipe"), *ú-ša-ak-ki-il* and *ú-ša!(ta)-ak-ki-li* in KUB 39, 82: 11'–12'; for irregular plene-writings of vowels, cf. *me-e-ši* and *mi-i-ši* for *misi* (*passim*) and *ši-i-ti* for *šitī* (KUB 39, 82: 6'); the logogram MUNUS.LUGAL (*passim*) is otherwise only used in the western periphery and in Nuzi texts (see CAD Š II 72–73); note also the placement of the plural marker with the determinative in ^{munes}SUḪUR.LÁL-*ki* and ^{munes}KAR.KID-*ki* (KUB 39, 93 obv.² 5).

²⁶ Beckman 2002, 41 draws attention to the use of archaic *šātu* (KUB 39, 93 obv.² 4). The bound form of *bēltu* shows the form *bēlat* (*be-el-at*, *passim*); while one could explain the latter as an Assyrianism (not uncommon in peripheral Akkadian), the archaic form *tašmā'inni* "you have listened to me" (*ta-aš-ma-e-in-[ni]*, KUB 39, 71 obv. II 25) predates second millennium Akkadian.

²⁷ Cf. the form of the partly corrupt Akkadian passage in KUB 39, 71 obv. II 20–28 with its duplicate KBo 39, 169+ obv. I 4'–10'.

²⁸ Correctly formed are *mu-uḫ-ri* "accept!" (*passim*), *pu-uṭ-ri* "release!" (KUB 39, 70+ obv. I 8'), *te-ri-ši-in-ni* "you have requested from me" and *ta-pu-li-in-ni* "you have answered me" (KUB 39, 71 obv. II 20–24 // KBo 39, 169+ obv. I 4'–8'). In the stock phrase *mi-i-ši* ^{hi}ŠU^{hi}-*ki* *be-el-di* MUNUS.LUGAL GAL ŠU.SI^{hi}-*ki* *bu-uḫ(-ḫa)-ri-ki* *ša* (var. in KUB 39, 70+ obv. II 8': *a-na*) *šap-ti-ki* *šu-uk-ke-el* "Wash your hands, my lady, great queen! Let your fingers feed you morsels for your lips!" (the interpretation follows Goetze 1964, 94b, Beckman 2002, 39) *šukkil* never shows the expected

There is at least one clear indication that the Akkadian passages were not simply inserted into an otherwise non-Akkadian linguistic context. In one of the ritual segments of the second day, the priest puts salt into the mouth of the sacrificial sheep (*nu-kán* ^{lú}*ša-ku-un-ni-eš A-NA UDU MUN KAXU-i da-a-[i]*, KUB 39, 71 rev. III 20). The accompanying recitation is based on the homonymy of Akkadian *ṭābtu* “salt” and *ṭābtu* “good deed, favour”: *ṭābātu liḫurāki bēltī (ta-pa-a-du li-ip-ḫu-ra-ki be-el-dī)* “May good things gather around you, my lady” (*ibid.*, 22).²⁹ One could therefore assume that the ritual was composed in Akkadian within a Hurro-Mesopotamian cultural context, and, if so, most likely by a local scholar well versed in Akkadian, using and substantially transforming Babylonian models in the process.³⁰ Given the overall context one can identify with some confidence rites that were probably based on such models. They include the requests for the acceptance of the offerings,³¹ the sending away of impurity on a boat,³² the use of sheep as substitute animals that are driven away³³ and, most clearly, as pointed out by Gary Beckman, the motif of having one’s sins carried off by a fish to the subterranean ocean and by a bird to the sky.³⁴ Unfortunately it remains uncertain to whom the pertinent recitation is addressed, but it is probably the purifying *ḫušt*-stone (amber?) which the ritualist seems to swing over the client (or the goddess?).³⁵ The fragmentary text preserves no information on whether

form *šūkilī*; also, one would rather expect *mi-ši-i (misī)* than *mi-i-ši*. The masculine forms in KUB 39, 78 obv. I 22’–25’ // 80: 5’–8’ are probably not addressed to the goddess, see *infra* (differently Beckman 2002, 40, fn. 31).

²⁹ In other texts a salt rite is accompanied by the following recitations: MUN *li-im-ḫur be-el-di* [(...)] MUNUS.LUGAL GAL “May my lady, [(...)], the great queen, accept the salt” (see KUB 32, 2 (+) FHG 3 (+) KBo 39, 288 obv. II 3’–4’; KUB 39, 70 rev. V 8’–9’; 89: 3’–4’).

³⁰ But, of course, one cannot exclude that a foreign expert contributed to the composition of the text; cf. the reference to a [DUB.SA]R? ^{ur}KÁ.DINGIR.RA in one of the manuscripts of CTH 481 (see Miller 2004, 273 with fn. 425) and also the DUB.SAR *pa-pi-li-li* in KBo 3, 21 rev. IV 12’ (CTH 313, Hittite translation of an Adad prayer). Whether such references always referred to Babylonians *stricto sensu* or could also just indicate a special competence is hard to say.

³¹ For parallels in Babylonian prayers, see Mayer 1976, 158–161.

³² For a recent discussion of this rite, see Strauß 2006, 201–204.

³³ For the use of substitute goats (*máš-ḫul-dúb-ba*, *máš-gi-izi-lá*) and sheep (*udu-ti-la*), cf. especially the *Bīt rimki* ritual (BBR 2, 26 + K 10131 [Læssøe 1955: 21] + unpubl. K 8194 + 8921 obv. I 20–23, II 4–6, rev. V 2’–4’ // SpTU 2, 12 rev. II 3–5, and the parallel texts K 5022 + Sm 303 + 787 + 833 + 949 rev. 32–33, K 3190 rev. 3’–4’ and BBR 2, 28 // Sm 1126 + 82-5-22, 546). For the *máš-ḫul-dúb-ba*, see Cavigneaux 1983 (also with comments on *udu-ti-la*).

³⁴ For this common motif, see Beckman 2002, 39 f.; Livingstone 2000; Seidl 2006; Schwemer 2007, 26 f., 207.

³⁵ Since all verbal forms in this passage consistently show masculine gender, it is unlikely (though not excluded) that the goddess is addressed. The *ḫušt*-stone is mentioned immediately before the recitation: *ḫu-u-uš-ta-az* [(...) *wa-aḫ-nu-uz-zī*] “[he swings] *ḫušt*-stone [...]” (KUB 39, 78 obv. I 20’; the restoration follows the traces preserved in the parallel passage 80: 3’; for similar passages, see the attestations collected in HED 3, 412, cf. also Miller 2004, 434 f.).

and, if so, how the release of a fish and a bird was actually enacted.³⁶ I quote only the recitation:

a-mi!(lum)-la ú-ul-li-el [ú-ub-bi-i(b)?]³⁷ hi-it-ta-ti-šu ú-ul-[i-el (i-na UD.KAM an-ni-i)] DUḥ-ta šu-uk-na³⁸ KU₆ i-na [(A.AB.BA)] MUSEN i-na ša-me-e ú-u[k-ki-(iṣ)]³⁹

amīla ullil [ubbi(b)(?)] hūâtīšu ul[lil (ina ūmi annī)] tapṭirta(?) šukna nūna ina [(tāmī)] iṣṣūra ina šamē u[kk]iṣ

Clear, [purif(y)] (this) man, cle[ar] his sins,⁴⁰ [(today)] establish *release*! I have sent off a fish to the sea, a bird to the sky!

KUB 39, 78 obv. I 22'–25' // 80: 5'–8'⁴¹

But, of course, one cannot exclude that the ritual, except for the recitations, was composed in another language than Akkadian (Hurrian or perhaps, in Kizzuwatna, Hittite); but then the actual meaning of the salt-rite in KUB 39, 71 rev. III 18–22 would already have been lost at the stage when the present ritual as a whole was composed. Whatever the exact circumstances of the composition and transmission of the '*papilili*-ritual' were, it seems certain that the ritual, as the Hittites performed it, is far removed from any original underlying Babylonian models. But while the text would have appeared as foreign to any second millennium Babylonian ritual expert, the Akkadian recitations and the instructions to speak *papilili* to the foreign Venus-goddess lent a high visibility to its ultimate roots. The performance of Akkadian invocations by Hittite experts within

³⁶ Three live fish are among the ritual paraphernalia listed in the inventory of the second day (KUB 39, 71 obv. I 18), but at least one of them is burnt (obv. II 36–38, cf. Strauß 2006, 200). Note that one goes to the river before one speaks the bird and fish recitation, cf. KUB 39, 78 obv. I 14'–15': *na-at-kán A-NA* ID [...], *i-ia-at-ta-ri* [...].

³⁷ This tentative restoration is a mere guess based on the context.

³⁸ Goetze 1964, 95a and Beckman 2002, 40 read *GABA-ta šu-uk-na* "turn (your) breast (to him)". The phrase *irta šakānu* is otherwise not attested in Akkadian; even if a meaning "to turn one's breast to someone in favour" were attested, one would not expect such a phrase within the present context. The phrase *piširta šakānu* "to establish the dispelling (of evils)" is reasonably well attested (see CAD P 428b), as is the parallel usage of *pašāru* (BÜR) and *paṭāru* (DUḥ). It seems therefore plausible that DUḥ-ta stands for *tapṭirta* "release" (cf. BÜR-tum, BÜR-ti for various forms of *piširtu*), even though this logographic writing would be attested here for the first time (see CAD T 196b).

³⁹ Beckman 2002, 40 restores *ú-š[e³-el-li]* in KUB 39, 78 obv. I 24' (cf. Goetze 1964, 95a), but the traces following *ú* cannot be reconciled with *še* (photo collated). They fit *uk* perfectly, and this tallies with the clear *iṣ* preserved for the end of the verbal form in the parallel KUB 39, 80: 8'. Note that *šūlū* also does not fit the context: while the bird rises into the sky, the fish goes down into the river. Babylonian parallel passages use (w)uṣṣuru "to release, send off" within this context; therefore there can be no doubt that *ukkušu* "to send off" is to be restored here.

⁴⁰ This is an unusual phrase; *ullulu* normally refers to the person or object from which the impurity is removed, but here it clearly refers to the impurity ("sins") itself.

⁴¹ Note that the two manuscripts fully duplicate each other only in the passage with the recitation.

this ritual is, however, not due to any direct influence of Babylonian magic on Hittite ritual practice.

(3) *Babylonian magic rituals and incantations manuscripts of which were found at Hattusa:*

The body of Akkadian and Sumerian texts attested in manuscripts found at Hattusa includes a substantial number of magical and medical texts (CTH 800–13, 819). There are no indications that any of these texts would not belong to the body of traditional Babylonian literature. A few almost complete tablets have survived, but most of the relevant material is preserved in small fragments. Despite the fragmentary state of most of the manuscripts, a brief overview of the attested text types may give some indication of the original extent and character of Babylonian magical and medical therapeutic texts present in the tablet collections of Hattusa.

The following list, as a rule, does not specify duplicates from Babylonian or Assyrian libraries that are included in the cited editions. For each fragment a brief palaeographical characterization is given, using the following categories: MB (Middle Babylonian script), Ass.-Mitt. (Assyro-Mittanian, i.e. early Middle Assyrian and Mittanian script types), NH (New Hittite) script and, finally ‘non-Hittite’ script (any script that is significantly different from the NH script, but cannot be assigned to a specific non-Anatolian school tradition). Hymns and prayers as well as diagnostic texts have been excluded from the following overview.⁴²

Multi-tablet collection of Sumerian incantations in syllabic orthography

KUB 30, 1 (+) 37, 109 (ed. Falkenstein 1939; Geller 1989)

KUB 30, 2–4; KUB 37, 108 + 110; KBo 36, 13; 15; 16; 19; KBo 40, 103

All fragments are written in MB script.

Fragments of Sumerian incantations

NH script: KUB 37, 112 (syllabic); KBo 36, 20; ABoT 43 (both orthographic).

‘Non-Hittite’ script: KBo 14, 51.

Fragment of a Sumerian medical text (?)

KUB 37, 19; MB script.

⁴² For the diagnostic texts, see Wilhelm 1994b and Heeßel 2000, 330. 335 on VBoT 54 and KUB 37, 87. Another overlooked diagnostic fragment seems to be KUB 37, 59 (ll. 5’–12’ parallel with STT 1, 89 obv. I 57 ff.); cf. also KUB 37, 210 (behaviour of a person; classified as a physiognomic omen fragment by Riemschneider 2004, 135).

Collections of Sumerian and Akkadian incantations

KUB 4, 24; NH script; with Akkadian instructions (apparently amulets, medications).

KBo 1, 18; four-sided prism with central longitudinal hole,⁴³ NH script; catchline: *šar(LUGAL) kiššati(ŠÚ)*; colophon: *ITI ŠA RE-ŠI*.

KBo 13, 37; ‘non-Hittite’ script.

*Bilingual incantations**(1) Forerunners of Utukkū lemnūtu*

KBo 36, 11 + KUB 37, 100a (ed. Cooper 1971, 12–22; Geller 1985); Ass.-Mitt. script; KUB 37, 101 (+) 102; 107; 143 (ed. Geller 1985); KUB 4, 16 (ed. Fincke 2009); all Ass.-Mitt. script.

KUB 37, 111; NH script (but note ŠA consistently with four horizontals).

(2) Marduk-Ea incantation and ki’utu-prayer

KUB 37, 115 + KBo 7, 1 (+) 2 (ed. Cooper 1972); Ass.-Mitt. script.

(3) Fragments

MB script: KBo 36, 12; 19; 21[?].

Ass.-Mitt. script: KUB 37, 95[?]; KBo 36, 28.

NH script: KUB 34, 3; 4; KBo 36, 17.

Akkadian prescriptions for curing impotence

KUB 4, 48 (ed. Biggs 1967, 54–60); ‘non-Hittite’ script; note use of *bá*.

KUB 37, 80 (dupl. of KUB 4, 48, ed. Biggs 1967, 60); NH script.

KUB 37, 81 (+) *AAA* 3, no. 5 (ed. Biggs 1967, 60 f.); Ass.-Mitt. script(?); note use of *qè*.

KUB 37, 82 (ed. Biggs 1967, 61); ‘non-Hittite’ script; for the use of *tà* in *tà-šap-pi* (l. 9’), cf. KUB 29, 58 rev. VI 6.

KBo 36, 27 (ed. Schwemer 2004); ‘non-Hittite’ script.

*Akkadian prescriptions for curing witchcraft-induced illnesses**(1) Ana pišerti kišpī*

KUB 37, 44 (+) 45 (+) 46 (+) 47 (+) 49 (+)^{??} 48 (ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); MB script.

KUB 37, 43 (dupl. of KUB 37, 44(+), ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); Ass.-Mitt. script;

⁴³ I would like to thank Joachim Marzahn who promptly confirmed the format of the text at my request.

KUB 37, 52 perhaps fragment of the same tablet.

KUB 37, 51 (+) 53 (+) 91 (ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); NH script.

KUB 4, 60 + KBo 36, 38 (ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); ‘non-Hittite’ script; note use of *tá*.

KUB 4, 99 (ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); ‘non-Hittite’ script.

KBo 9, 47 (dupl. of KUB 4, 99, ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); Ass.-Mitt. script.

(2) *Šumma amēlu kašip*

KUB 37, 55 + KBo 36, 32 (ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); Ass.-Mitt. script.

KUB 37, 9 (dupl. of KUB 37, 55+, ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); Ass.-Mitt. script (cf. KUB 37, 2(+), *infra*).

KUB 37, 56 (ed. Abusch – Schwemer 2011); ‘non-Hittite’ script; note spelling A.KU.ZE.EN.GA.

Cf. the catalogue entry BAD LÚ *ka-ši-ip* in KUB 30, 55 rev.[?] 9’.

(3) *Other fragments*

Ass.-Mitt. script: KUB 4, 27; KUB 37, 58 (+)^{??} 57 (*zikurudû*); 94.

‘Non-Hittite’ scripts: KUB 37, 89 (frg. ritual, ed. Biggs 1967, 61, in l. 2’, read ^hU[Š₁₁.ZU]; 90 (note use of *tù* in l. 3’: *ru-u³-tù*, and probably *qà* in l. 5’: *liq-q]à-li-ip*, collated).

A collection of Akkadian rituals against demons and ghosts

KBo 36, 29 (ed. Schwemer 1998; Farber 2001; Scurlock 2006, no. 220–221; all without KBo 40, 104); Ass.-Mitt. script; dupl. in identical script: KBo 36, 34; additional fragments, possibly belonging to one of these two manuscripts: KUB 37, 62; 65; 66; 74; 86; 97.

KUB 4, 77 (dupl. of KBo 36, 29); NH script(?), but note LA (one horizontal), ŠA (four horizontals).

KUB 37, 93 (dupl. of KBo 36, 29); Ass.-Mitt. script(?), but note form of DU.

KBo 9, 50 (partial dupl. of KBo 36, 29); ‘non-Hittite’ script; note ‘Hittite’ AḤ in Akkadian gloss : *ši-il₅-li-ma-aḥ-[lu]* (obv. 27’, for another Akkadian gloss, see : *pa-a-šu* in obv. 31’), for ‘Assyrian’ AḤ, cf. obv. 28’, rev. 13’.

KBo 40, 104 (dupl. of KBo 36, 29); MB script(?).

Akkadian ritual and prescriptions against fever (li’bu šibit šadi)

KUB 29, 58 + 59 + KUB 37, 84 (ed. Meier 1939); ‘non-Hittite’ script, ‘peripheral’ syllabary, occasional Assyrianisms and corruptions.

KUB 29, 60 + KBo 36, 35 (dupl. of KUB 29, 58+); ‘non-Hittite’ script, but distinctly different from that of KUB 29, 58+.

Akkadian rituals and prescriptions for women and babies

KUB 4, 13 ('Cow of Sîn', ed. Röllig 1985; Veldhuis 1991, 65); 'non-Hittite' script, note the diverging forms of IL in ll. 17'–18' and use of *dá*.

KUB 4, 17 (+) 18; 'non-Hittite' script; colophon: [... ^{lú}]SANGA *ištur*(GIŠ)-*ma* lú [...] (note the distinctly NH form of ŠID in the colophon).

Fragments of rituals and incantations

MB script: KUB 37, 96[?]; 98[?]; 149.

Ass.-Mitt. script: KUB 37, 54[?]; 72 (against depression, dupl. of Beckman – Foster 1988, no. 19); 91 (note use of *bá*); 137; KBo 36, 63.

'Non-Hittite' scripts: KUB 4, 35; KUB 37, 73; 85; 92; HT 75.

NH script: KUB 4, 20 (+) 21[?]; KBo 36, 25.

Palaeographically undetermined: KBo 36, 71.

Collections of Akkadian prescriptions for diseased eyes

KUB 37, 2; Ass.-Mitt. script; KUB 37, 3–9 possibly all from the same tablet as KUB 37, 2.

KUB 37, 12 + 14 (+) 15; 23; KBo 8, 1; 2; all Ass.-Mitt. script(?).

KUB 4, 50; 55; 'non-Hittite' script.

Akkadian prescriptions and rituals with Hittite and Luwian glosses and a student's comments

KUB 37, 1 (ed. Köcher 1952–1953); NH script, peripheral syllabary.

Akkadian medical fragments

MB script: KUB 37, 26[?]; 116 (amulet stones); KBo 8, 3[?]; KBo 36, 30; 33.

Ass.-Mitt. script: KUB 4, 52; 54; 98; KUB 37, 10 (partly Sumerian); 11[?]; 21[?]; 24[?]; 25[?] (not use of *bá*); 27[?]; 29; 32[?]; 33 (note use of *dá*); 50; KBo 8, 4; KBo 36, 37 (toothache).

'Non-Hittite' scripts: KUB 4, 30; 51 (but note 'Hittite' forms of LI, SAR, LU and use of *bá*); 56; 57; 58 (but note 'Hittite' SAR, LU, ḪA and use of *bá*); 61; 62; 98; KUB 37, 18; 20; 28; 60; KBo 9, 48.

NH script: KUB 4, 49 (but note IN with three verticals); KUB 37, 22[?]; 34; KBo 36, 59.

Palaeographically undetermined: KUB 37, 13 (+) 16 (+) 17; KBo 27, 26.

Given the fragmentary state of the texts preserved, this overview can hardly be called representative, but what has survived certainly shows that a wide range of Babylonian

therapeutic texts formed part of the tablet collections at Hattusa, especially those on Büyükkale.⁴⁴ The preserved body of texts includes ceremonial rituals and prescriptions for the preparation of medications, but on the whole prescriptions are more common, especially if one disregards the collections of Sumerian and bilingual incantations which hardly served any practical ritual purpose.

Who wrote these Sumerian and Akkadian tablets, and why were they recorded? The most important source for answering these questions would be the scribal colophons of the relevant tablets, but within the present text sample only two colophons are (partially) preserved. Other criteria which can be used to determine the background of the scribes who wrote the tablets include (a) the script and orthography of individual manuscripts, (b) the tablet format,⁴⁵ (c) the presence of glosses and (d) the existence of multiple copies of one text.

As is readily apparent from the overview given above, the palaeography of the fragments belonging to the present text group is far from homogeneous. The majority of texts were written by scribes schooled in a Babylonian, Assyrian, Mittanian or in other northern Mesopotamian or Syrian traditions of cuneiform, but there are a few fragments whose script is close or identical to that commonly found in 13th century Hittite texts. A typical 'peripheral' syllabary (especially the indiscriminate use of the signs for syllables containing voiced and unvoiced stops) can be found in the tablets written in NH script, but also in many of the Assyro-Mittanian and other 'non-Hittite' script manuscripts. A few fragments show an unexpected variance of forms of individual signs.⁴⁶ Even though the majority of the manuscripts under study are small fragments, it is clear that multiple copies of some compositions were kept at Hattusa, some of them in different scripts. Glosses are rare: Akkadian glosses can be found in KBo 9, 50 (Akkadian rituals against ghosts and demons); KUB 37, 1, a collection of Akkadian prescriptions and rituals of unknown purpose,⁴⁷ is furnished with extensive Hittite and Luwian glosses and comments, clearly by a student.

⁴⁴ The vast majority of the fragments come from Büyükkale, mainly from building A, but a few were found in temple I and in the house on the slope.

⁴⁵ Given the fragmentary state of most of the relevant manuscripts, little can be said about the tablet formats; but note that there is one prism within our text group (KBo 1, 18), a typical format of school texts. It is intriguing that the catchline of KBo 1, 18 (NS) refers to a composition beginning in *šar kiššati* 'king of the universe'; this may well be a legend about a king of Akkade, preserved at Hattusa *inter alia* on the prism fragments KBo 19, 98 and 99 (both MS).

⁴⁶ Cf. the 'Hittite' and 'Assyrian' form of KI in KUB 37, 87: 5', 12', 16' (also note the 'Hittite' form of DA, ŠA, LÚ and the 'Assyrian' form of RU, LU and LA) and the varying forms of LU and Û in KUB 37, 85 (also note the 'Hittite' form of LA and the 'Assyrian' form of ŠA, KI and LUL).

⁴⁷ The opening line of KUB 37, 1 is only fragmentarily preserved. The following prescription gives instructions for the preparation of a bandage, as do the following text units introduced by KIMIN. It seems therefore likely that the first paragraphs of the obverse deal with skin diseases. The traces at the beginning of obv. 1 would admit a restoration [*šum₄-ma* *la-a-bi* LÚ.U19.¹LU¹ [...], which may indicate that the prescriptions are therapies for curing the *la'bu*-disease.

The most plausible explanation for this overall picture is that the presence of these Babylonian texts in the tablet collections of Hattusa is due to the presence of foreign scholars at the Hittite court, especially during the 13th century. These experts, trained in Babylonia, Assyria, northern Mesopotamia or Syria, may have brought some tablets with them when they came to Anatolia. They certainly continued producing tablets while at Hattusa, and this is especially true for those who stayed for a longer period of time and began instructing their sons, thereby setting up what we conventionally refer to as a 'school'. KUB 37, 1 and other fragments written in the New Hittite script show that Hittite scribes trained in the cuneiform script of Hattusa were among those taught by the foreign experts. Other tablets, not written in New Hittite script, may have been written by Hittite students and scholars who had learned to master forms of cuneiform other than the Hattusa ductus. The education of younger scribes by foreign scholars would also provide a ready explanation for the existence of multiple copies of single texts. The preserved fragments provide no information on why the offspring of foreign scholars and Hittite scribes read and copied Sumerian and Akkadian incantations, rituals and prescriptions. But the following considerations suggest that the study of Babylonian magical and medical texts served not only academic purposes: (a) the foreign experts were called to the Hittite court because Babylonian medical lore was regarded as superior to local expertise, (b) therapeutic prescriptions form the most prominent group within our body of texts, (c) Hittite scribes were taught by the foreign scribes alongside their own sons and (d) Hittite medical prescriptions are evidently influenced by Babylonian models.

(4) *Hittite translations of Babylonian rituals:*

Only two examples of Babylonian rituals translated into Hittite are known to date.⁴⁸ KUB 4, 47 and its duplicate KBo 45, 193 (both NS, *CTH* 432) are inscribed with a Babylonian ritual for soothing the anger of one's personal gods.⁴⁹ The description of the symptoms and ritual instructions are given in Hittite, but clearly represent a more or less literal translation of an Akkadian original.⁵⁰ The *legomena* are kept in Akkadian, some of the Sumerian logograms are written syllabically.⁵¹ The Akkadian text is not

⁴⁸ Taracha 2000, 149–151 assumes that KUB 24, 12 represents a translation of a Babylonian ritual, but his argument has little substance (cf. *supra*, fn. 12).

⁴⁹ The text was most recently edited by Beckman 2007 who had the benefit of the pioneering edition by van der Toorn and Houwink ten Cate (van der Toorn 1985, 125–133); cf. also Mouton 2007, 144–147 (partial edition largely following van der Toorn and Houwink ten Cate).

⁵⁰ I cannot see why the fact that the symptomology, diagnosis and ritual instructions are written in idiomatic Hittite should rule out the possibility that they were translated from Akkadian by a Hittite scribe (so Beckman 2007, 81), possibly with the help of a Babylonian or Assyrian scholar resident at Hattusa. There is not a single element within these sections that one would not expect in a comparable Akkadian ritual text.

⁵¹ Pace Beckman 2008, 347 I never suggested that these Akkadian passages “were to be translated when the ritual was actually performed”.

free of corruptions: *er!(ni)-šu* ^d*nu-dim-mud* [*ú-š*] *a-at-li-im-ku<-nu-ši>* *ša-qú-du* *šu-pu!(nu)-du* “wise Nudimmud granted y<ou> loftiness (*šaḳûtu*) (and) brilliance (*šûpûtu*)” (rev. 37–38);⁵² <*parkā*>? *bābu(QA)* *kamû(AŠ.ÀM)* (text: AŠ QA A AN) ^{gis}*daltu(IG)* *túr-ra* [*bā*]*bātu([K]Á)* *na-du-ú si-gar-ra* “outer gate (and) door <are barred>, the [ga]te(s) are closed, the bolts(!) are in place”; or, following a private communication by Werner R. Mayer: *pár!(aš)-ka₄* {a an} ^{gis}*dalātu(IG)* *túr-ra* [*bā*]*bātu([K]Á)* *na-du-ú si-gar-ra* “the door(s) are barred(!), the [ga]te(s) are closed, the bolts(!) are in place” (rev. 39–40);⁵³ *mu-ul ša a-na še-ga KU-PI-IA kakkabû(MUL)* [*ša*] *i-na ša-me-e iz-zi-iz-zu* “stars, favourable in the midst of heaven ... , stars [that] have appeared in the sky” (rev. 36–37) is quite problematic; perhaps the scribe misunderstood the syllabic Sumerian⁵⁴ and read *ša a-na magār(še.ga)* *su!(ku)-pi-ia* “that are (ready) to grant my prayer”? The syllabary shows the disregard for voiced and unvoiced stops, emphatic consonants, Semitic *q* and *s* that would be typical of a Hittite scribe.⁵⁵ Gary Beckman may well be right to conclude that “this text represents the collaboration of a Hittite student and his foreign teacher, a Babylonian scribe resident at the Hittite capital” (2007: 81); but if a Babylonian scholar was directly involved in the production of the text, we would expect him to have scolded his student for his carelessness. The syllabic spelling of the many Sumerograms in the prayer to the gods of the night sheds an interesting light on how this text was actually read out and performed in 13th century Hattusa.

The second example of an Akkadian ritual translated into Hittite is less well known. KBo 21, 20 (NS) is a fragment of a collection of Hittite therapeutic prescriptions, among them a prescription for curing someone afflicted by the demoness ^d*DIM.NUN.ME*

⁵² The interpretation of *ša-qú-du* follows Beckman 2007, 77, who reads [*ú-š*] *a-at-li-im-ma* and takes *ša-qú-du* *šu-nu-du* as a mistake for *šaḳûtkunu*. The latter seems unlikely; note that *šutlumu* regularly takes the object upon whom something is bestowed as a pronominal suffix, while the granted object does not take a possessive suffix. Neither *šaḳûtu* nor *šûpûtu* are attested elsewhere, but they can be compared with other abstract nouns in *-ūt-* that are based on adjectives: *eršûtu* “wisdom”, *dannûtu* “strength”, *rab(b)ûtu* “greatness”, *gašrûtu* “power”, *šîrûtu* “exaltedness” etc.

⁵³ For the use of QA for /KA/ (here for KÁ or *ka₄*), cf. ^{mul}QA.AD.DU.UH.ĤA for ^{mul}UD.KA.DUĤA in rev. 46, for the use of syllabic and orthographic logograms side by side (QA and KÁ), cf. MU.UL next to MUL in rev. 36. The emendation of *parkā* is based on comparison with other prayers to the gods of the night, cf. especially K 3507 obv. 8'–9' (OECT 6, pl. 12): *pa-ar-ka* ^{gis}*dalātu(IG)* ^{mes}*tu-ú[r-ra bābātu(KÁ)]* ^{mes}*na-du-ú ši-ga-ru* “the doors are barred, [the gates] are cl[osed], the bolts are in place.” (cf. CAD Š II 410a). For a different reading of the passage in KUB 4, 47, see now Fincke 2009b, 527.

⁵⁴ I would like to thank Werner R. Mayer for his observations on the interpretation of this passage.

⁵⁵ Cf. *gi-it-ti* (*kitti*, rev. 8), *ḫi-ti* (*ḫītī*, rev. 11), *ki-el-la-ti* (*gillatī*, rev. 11), *ki-el-la-du-ia* (*gillātūya*, rev. 12), *ma-me-du-ia* (*mamētūya*, rev. 12), *pa-la-ti* (*balāti*, rev. 21), *a-na<-ku>{-}* *aḫ-du-u* (*anāku aḫti!*, rev. 22), *ḫi-ṭa-du-ia* (*ḫitātūya*, rev. 25), *li-ip-pa-te-er* (*lippater*, rev. 26), *er-pa-nim-ma* (*erbānimma*, rev. 41), *ki-me-er-ku-nu* (*gimirkunu*, rev. 48), *da-me-du* (*tamītu*, rev. 48), *si-gar-ra* (*šigarū*, rev. 40), ŠI.KI.LA, ŠE.KI.LA (ŠIKIL.LA, rev. 33–35), TU.ŠI.ŠI (TU₁₅.SI.SÁ, rev. 42), ^{mul}ŠI.PA.ZI.A.NA (^{mul}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA, rev. 44).

(Lamaštu) which includes a Hurrian recitation. On the reverse, the end of an Akkadian prayer addressed to a goddess is partially preserved. The Akkadian text is followed by a Hittite rubric and Hittite ritual instructions. Crucially, the ritual is performed before Scorpius,⁵⁶ the astral manifestation of Išhara, who, we can conclude, must be the addressee of the preceding prayer. The main concern of the prayer seems to be witchcraft performed against the patient, and the preserved text shares some key phrases with a first-millennium Akkadian prayer addressed to Scorpius-Išhara that has the same purpose; possibly the present fragment represents an earlier version of the later prayer.⁵⁷ The Hittite ritual instructions offer many difficulties, but the involvement of Scorpius, the use of dates and gazelle horn,⁵⁸ rare Akkadograms and the curious mix of first, third and second person instructions reveal an underlying Babylonian model. Since Cornelia Burde's previous edition of the text⁵⁹ can be improved on in a number of places, a new transliteration and translation are offered here (photo collated):

rev. 1'	x x [
2'	<i>ik-ri-b</i> [i] ⁶⁰
3'	<i>li-ip-[p]a-t</i> [i-ir] ⁶¹
4'	<i>up-ša-šu-ú</i> [e-mu-ut-ti] ⁶²
5'	<i>ú-ša-ki-la</i> !?(ra)-a[n?-ni?] ⁶³
6'	<i>ana</i> (ŠE) ⁶⁴ <i>le-mu-ut-ti</i> [i x] x x [

⁵⁶ CHD P 186b reads ^dAN x ("Skygod") in rev. 10', but this cannot be correct.

⁵⁷ BMS 7 rev. // BMS 57 // AOAT 34, 25 ('Išhara 1'; ed. Ebeling 1953, 58–61; see Mayer 1976, 388 and Seux 1976, 343–345). Note that Tzvi Abusch, long before I identified the present fragment, had recognized that 'Išhara 1' is a composite text. I quote from his remarks in the introduction to Abusch – Schwemer 2011: "The prayer 'Išhara 1' is not a simple witchcraft text in the form of a prayer nor a simple šu'ila that has been modified by stereotypical additions. That this (still fragmentary) text is some form of composite is clear from the following: (1) whereas ll. 1–25 are addressed not only to Išhara but to other deities as well, ll. 26ff. seem to be addressed only to Išhara; (2) there are two addresses or openings: ll. 1–4 and l. 26; (3) ll. 17–25 are directed against witchcraft, whereas ll. 14–15 deal with sin, a theme that normally does not occur alongside witchcraft; (4) the 'request' is broken up, and requests against different evils occur at different places in the text." (p. 19).

⁵⁸ The interpretation of rev. 14' in CHD L-N 79a ("and the spearman [blows] the horn") is based on a misreading inspired by Heinrich Otten's slightly incorrect copy.

⁵⁹ 1974, 42–46; Cornelia Burde refrained from offering a translation of the reverse of the tablet.

⁶⁰ Cf. BMS 7 rev. 3: *še-mat ik-ri-bi* "(Išhara) who accepts prayers".

⁶¹ Cf. BMS 7 rev. 15 // AOAT 34, 25: 7': *ma-ḥar-ku-nu ar-ni lip-pa-ti[r]* "may my sin be undone before you".

⁶² Cf. BMS 7 rev. 18 (// AOAT 34, 25: 10'): *up-ša-še-e lemutti*(HUL-ti) *ša amēlūti*(LÚ.MEŠ) "evil machinations of men" (cf. also rev. 24).

⁶³ Cf. BMS 7 rev. 19 (// AOAT 34, 25: 11'): *ù mim-ma šum-šú ša a-na ma-ka-le-e x [...]* "and anything whatsoever which [... to me] as food".

⁶⁴ For the use of ŠE for *ana* in Akkadian texts from Hattusa, cf. the Tette treaty, CTH 53 (KBo 1, 4+ *passim*, the most recent edition of this text can be found online at *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*).

- 7' *as-ḥur-ki e-še-k[i] aš-šum ᵀgi₅¹-m[i-il dumqī]*⁶⁵
 8' *ù a-mi-lu-ut-ti na-piš-ti e-e[ᵀri]*⁶⁶
-
- 9' *ma-an-kán UN-ši x x (x) ar-ḥa x [*
-
- 10' *nu kiš-an DÙ-mi*⁶⁷ *A-NA PA-AN ᵀmul GÍR¹.[TAB*
 11' *ZÚ.LUM A-NA ZÌ.DA ᵀKU?-NI?-Šf?¹ me-na-[aḥ-ḥa-an-da im-me-ia-az-*
zi(?) (...)]
 12' *KAŠ-eš-šar ši-ip-pa-an-ti ᵀgiš¹ i-ia-[*
 13' *pár-ša-an-ta-iz-zi ᵀse¹[k]ar-ši E-NI-NU x [*
 14' *lu-ki-iš-zi nu SI MAŠ.DÀ SI x [*
 15' *nu pár-ku-i A-tar ḥa-a-ni ᵀgiš ŠINIG [*
 16' *ᵀi¹? ᵀgiš EREN-ia da-a-i na-an iš-ki-i[z-zi*
 17' *[x x]-an [a]n-da im-me-ia-ši na-[*
 18' *[x x x] x x DU₁₀.GAM-AS!?(text: ḥi az gam) na-a-ú-ᵀi¹-[*
- rev. 1' ... [
 2' prayer[s
 3' may be dispell[ed
 4' e[vil] machinations [
 5' *has fed [me*
 6' With regard to the evil ... [
 7' I turn to you, I seek y[ou], because [you ...] kind[ness ...
 8' and of mankind. Sa[ve] my life [
 9' When [...] ... away from a man.⁶⁸
-
- 10' I do as follows: before Scor[pus]⁶⁹
 11' [*He mixes*] dates toge[ther with] *emmer* flour [(...)].⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Cf. *BMS* 7 rev. 29–30 (// *BMS* 57 rev. 7'–8'): *a-na šu-a-ti ašhur(NIGIN)-ki al-si-ki ᵀe¹-[še-ki]*, *aš-šum gi-mil dum-qī ᵀe¹-[pēša tīdī(?)]* “With regard to that (evil) I turn to you, I call upon you, I [seek you], because [you know (what it is) to] g[rant] kindness”.

⁶⁶ Cf. *BMS* 57 rev. 12': *napišti(ZI-ti) ub-lak-ki* “I have brought to you my life”.

⁶⁷ Is this perhaps corrupt for *nu kiššan iyaši(DÙ) išpanti(GE₆<-ti>)* “You do as follows: during the night ...”? Then the ritual instructions would use only second and third person verbal forms. Note, however, that the scribe wrote clearly *DÙ-mi* leaving a space between *-mi* and *A-NA*; he certainly understood it as the typical Hittite ritual introduction in the first person.

⁶⁸ *arḥa* seems to indicate that the rubric refers to the therapeutic actions of the ritual expert (“When you remove ... from a man” *vel sim.*). If the rubric turned out to refer to the patient’s suffering, the introductory *mān* should be translated as “if” (“If ... have been taken away from a man” *vel sim.*).

⁶⁹ For a possible emendation of this line, see *supra*, fn. 67.

- 12' He libates beer. *eya*-wood⁷¹ ... [
 13' he *paršantai*-s. *karši*-grain, *ENNENU*-grain, ... [
 14' (when) it dawns [...] horn of a gazelle, horn of a [
 15' He draws pure water. Tamarisk, [
 16' and cedar-scented *oil* he takes and an[oints] him. [
 17' ... you mix and [
 18' [...] *you have (him) kneel down*. [...] not yet [

(5) *Hittite adaptations of Babylonian rituals:*

Another group of Hittite rituals which are clearly dependent on Babylonian models is formed by the substitute rituals for the Hittite king, *CTH* 419–21.⁷² While the use of substitutes for mobilizing miasma is well known in many cultures, a specific ritual for installing and putting to death a mock king when evil omens forebode imminent danger for the king is unlikely to have been independently developed in two cultures as closely related as Hittite Anatolia and Mesopotamia. As has long been seen (and studied in detail by Hans M. Kümmel within the framework of his edition of *CTH* 419–21),⁷³ the Hittite substitute king rituals, while certainly not a direct translation of a Babylonian ritual text, exhibit a number of features that are borrowed from Babylonian ritual practice:⁷⁴ (a) The acting ritual expert is the *apiši*- (*a-pi-ši*-), a loanword derived from Akkadian *āšipu* “exorcist”; the original Akkadian form of the word is regularly used in Akkadographic writings (*A-ŠI-PU* and, once, *A-ŠI-PI*) throughout the text group side by side with Hittite *apiši*-. (b) In the ritual KBo 15, 2 // (Kümmel 1967: 50–110) a figurine of the netherworld god Lugalirra (^d*lugal-ir-ra*) is used within the context of protecting the doors; this corresponds exactly to the use of figurines

⁷⁰ For the collocation x (acc.) *ANA* y (dat.-loc.) *menahḫanda immiya*- “to mix y together with y”, see the attestations given in *CHD* L–N 284b–85a. Emmer flour is one of the most common varieties of flour used in rituals. Note that the variant *kunīšu* (rather than *kunāšu*) is attested in KUB 37, 1 (obv. 21: *zi ku-ni^{si}-ši*). Hittite texts usually use the Sumerogram *ZÍZ(-tar)* for emmer; the present passage would represent the first Akkadographic rendering of the Hittite word (cf. *ENNENU* in rev. 13', likewise without parallel).

⁷¹ This seems to be the only possible interpretation of the preserved signs; but note that *eya*- is otherwise *always* written with an initial *e*-.

⁷² This group of texts has to be distinguished from the royal substitute rituals edited by Taracha 2000.

⁷³ Kümmel 1967; for the Mesopotamian substitute king ritual, see also Lambert 1957–1958; Lambert 1959–1960 and Parpola 1983, xxii–xxxii.

⁷⁴ The use of a temporary structure called *kippa*- (a tent or hut) belongs, in my view, not to the Babylonian features of these rituals. Taracha (2001 *passim*) argues that Hittite ^é*kippa*- is a loanword based on the Sumerogram ^{gi}ŠUTUG (GI.PAD). It is true that most of the attestations for *kippa*- come from the royal substitute rituals (cf. the discussion by Kümmel 1967, 72–75, see also *HED* 4, 185 f.), but *kippa*- is also attested in the ritual of Banippi (KUB 30, 36, MH/NS, see Schwemer 2007, 268 f.) — there in a use that seems irreconcilable with a Babylonian *šutukku* hut. Piotr Taracha himself (2001, 146) acknowledges the linguistic problems posed by his hypothesis.

of Lugalirra (^d*lugal-ir₉-ra*) in Babylonian rituals.⁷⁵ (c) The same ritual uses MÁŠ.ḪUL.DÚB.BA as a designation of a scapegoat (rev. IV 13). It seems unlikely that this highly specialized term, which is only attested here in Hittite texts, served as a Sumerogram for a regular Hittite word rather than a superficially Hittitized version of the corresponding Akkadian loanword *mašhulduppû*. (d) The living substitute of the king is referred to as *PU-UḪ-ŠU* “substitute” and *LÚ PU-ḪI-ŠU* “substitute man” (< Akkadian *pūḫšu* “his substitute”). The Akkadogram *PU-UḪ-ŠU* is also attested in the Hittite laws and in a royal edict, but it only rarely occurs in other Hittite ritual texts.⁷⁶ The Hittite reading is still unknown, but it seems difficult to dismiss their use in the royal substitute rituals as insignificant.

How the Babylonian substitute king ritual found its way into Hittite ritual practice has been a matter of debate. While Heinrich Otten maintained that the Hittite substitute king ritual represents a direct adaptation of Babylonian traditions brought to Hattusa by Babylonian or Assyrian experts, Annelies Kammenhuber stressed that the rituals of CTH 419–21 exhibit a number of Hurrian features and argued that they should be regarded as part of the Kizzuwatna ritual tradition.⁷⁷ It is difficult to make a final decision between these two hypotheses. On the one hand, a few Hurrian elements can certainly be observed; the texts mention the *šeḫelliyaš watar* “purification water”, the *ambašši* burnt sacrifice, Šēri and Ḫurri form part of the storm-god’s entourage⁷⁸ and the use of Hittite *apiši-* side by side with the Akkadogram *ĀŠIPU* seems difficult to reconcile with an unmediated Hittite adaptation of a Babylonian text.⁷⁹ On the other hand, one could argue that such features were introduced at Hattusa, at a time when Hurrian terminology had been part of Hittite ritual practice for a long time and the loanword *apiši-* had been firmly established in the Hittite language. The latter argu-

⁷⁵ For the relevant Hittite passages, see Kümmel 1967, 66–69. For the role of Lugalirra as guard at the gate in *Maqlû* and in *Šēp lemutti in bīt amēli parāsu*, see Wiggermann 1992, 59 and 20 f., ll. 319–328 (cf. also Lambert 1987–1990, 145a); in one of the incantations recited during the performance of *Bīt mēseri* Lugalirra is described as the god who organizes the defense of the house against evil forces by setting up guards all around it (Meier 1941–1944, 146 f., 107–131). The reading Lugalirra (rather than ‘Lugalgirra’) is secured by *Emesal vocabulary* I 115 (^d*umun-ir-ra* = ^d*lugal-ir₉-ra*, see MSL 4, 10) and other sources (see Lambert 1987–1990), the spelling ^d*lugal-gir-ra* in Wiggermann 1992, 20 f., l. 320 is a late interpretative spelling (“lord of the dagger”).

⁷⁶ See the discussion in Kümmel 1967, 81 f. The two unpublished ritual fragments quoted by Hans M. Kümmel have been published in the meantime: KBo 13, 139 (*PU-UḪ-ŠU*^{hi.a} in l. 3’), and KUB 59, 17+ (temple ritual, ed. Popko 2004, 244–248; *PU-UḪ-ŠU*^{hi.a} in obv. 15’).

⁷⁷ See Otten 1974–1977; Kammenhuber 1976, 143–145; Kümmel 1967, 198 seems to consider an adaptation of the substitute king ritual from northern Syria rather than directly from Babylonian.

⁷⁸ *šeḫelliyaš watar*: KBo 15, 9 rev. IV 23 // (Kümmel 1967, 66 f.), KUB 12, 40 r. col. 6 (Kümmel 1967, 68–69); *ambašši*: KBo 15, 7: 10’ (Kümmel 1967, 36 f.); Šēri and Ḫurri (in their expected place within a list of the deities of the official pantheon of the Hittite empire in the 14th and 13th cent.): KUB 17, 14 ‘obv.’ 9’–10’ // (Kümmel 1967, 60 f.).

⁷⁹ For the relationship between *apiši-* and *ĀŠIPU*, cf. also Schwemer 2005–2006, 226 f.

ment, however, is substantially weakened by the fact that *apiši-* is, so far, attested only in KBo 15, 2 // (CTH 421).

* * *

This brief overview of Hittite rituals clearly influenced by or based on Babylonian models and of Babylonian magical and medical texts found at Hattusa shows that evident Babylonian motifs are restricted to specific groups of texts:

- rituals belonging to the Hurro-Mesopotamian tradition (groups 1–2, perhaps 5),
- rituals which are more or less directly dependent on Babylonian ritual texts (group 4, perhaps 5).

At the same time a sizeable body of Babylonian rituals and prescriptions formed part of the tablet collections at Hattusa (group 3). This body of texts is closely connected with the foreign exorcists and physicians present at the Hittite court, and it was argued that the texts bear witness to the activity of these experts both as therapists and as educators. Some Hittite scribes were trained in Babylonian ritual and medical lore, probably with the goal to practise and transfer their knowledge into Hittite.

Only very few Hittite translations of Babylonian rituals have survived, and their number is dwarfed by the sizeable group of Akkadian magic rituals found at Hattusa and the extensive body of Hittite magic rituals which do not exhibit any evident Babylonian influences. It seems that, despite the clear interactions between foreign experts and Hittite scribes, the rich Anatolian ritual traditions remained largely unaffected by Babylonian ritual lore.

In this regard, it is worth noting that the majority of Babylonian therapeutic texts found at Hattusa are prescriptions rather than ceremonial rituals and that the majority of texts belonging to the small group of Hittite medical prescriptions are clearly based on Babylonian models. It would seem that, just as with other Mesopotamian text groups, the selective reception of Babylonian ritual texts and prescriptions in Hittite Anatolia was informed by an interest in their applicability and by a perception of the deficiencies of one's own traditions. Thus, not a single fragment of a Babylonian or Assyrian temple ritual was found in the tablet collections of Hattusa; obviously, these texts held no interest for Hittite administrators. Babylonian exorcistic rituals were in greater demand, but the many therapeutic rituals that formed part of the various Anatolian ritual traditions co-existed with these foreign texts, and interaction between the two text groups seems to have remained limited. Apparently, medical prescriptions were less well known at the Hittite court, and, consequently, there was a greater demand for a Hittite adaptation of the relevant foreign texts.

In view of this overall picture, the explanation of similarities between Hittite and Babylonian ritual texts should not, by default, fall back on a model of cultural borrowing, but take into account the possibility cross-cultural similarities. Similarity alone cannot substantiate the argument for a cultural borrowing. If a Babylonian origin of a motif (symbol or action) within a Hittite ritual is claimed, this must be underpinned by a demonstration of the motif's specificity; the argument will win plausibility if the text as a whole belongs to one of the text groups in which the presence of Babylonian traditions may be expected.

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ITAMAR SINGER

Between scepticism and credulity: In defence of Hittite historiography

„Cependant le scepticisme de principe n'est pas une attitude intellectuelle plus estimable ni plus féconde que la crédulité...“

Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris 1949), 48

„Just because an intellectual trend seems irresistible is no reason for not resisting it.“

Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York/London 1999), 11

Introduction

The emergence of postmodernist thought in the 1960s and 1970s has posed the most formidable epistemological challenge to the historical discipline in recent times. Since the concept of 'postmodernism' is extremely fluid and controversial, any definition to be reproduced here will necessarily be considered unsatisfactory by some. However, as a practicing historian, I will utilize the characterizations of another historian, Richard J. Evans, a leading authority on modern German history. In his balanced survey of historians' responses to postmodernism he thoughtfully distinguishes between radical and moderate versions of postmodernism.¹ He describes the radical approach as follows:²

¹ As observed by Evans 1999, 222, n. 6, 'postmodernism' is a convenient general label which covers a variety of sometimes contradictory and conflicting ideas. To a large extent it can only be defined by what it is not, i.e. 'modernism'. Quite often scholars are reluctant to define themselves as 'postmodernists', even if their views include typical hallmarks of postmodernist thought (see n. 3). A less burdened term often used in this context is the 'linguistic turn', which refers to various language-based modes of historical criticism. For a useful volume of readings on the history and narrative debate see Roberts 2001; see also the first two chapters in Barstad 2008 for a brief introductory survey on the development of historical thought from 'modernism' to 'postmodernism' (with special attention to biblical studies). Some culture analysts have already proclaimed the death of 'Postmodernism' and the advent of 'Pseudo-modernism' or 'Digimodernism' (Kirby 2006; 2009). I fear to think what kind of repercussions this new amnesiac cultural climate might have on the historical sciences.

The idea that language is arbitrarily constructed, and represents nothing but itself, so that whenever we read something, the meaning we put into it is necessarily our own and nobody else's, except of course insofar as our own way of reading is part of a wider discourse or set of beliefs. It must be obvious that this idea has a corrosive effect on the discipline of history, which depends on the belief that the sources the historian reads can enable us to reconstruct past reality. ... The ultimate test of any historical statement is the extent to which it fits with the evidence, but just because no fit is ever perfect, just because no fact can be established as anything more than an overwhelming probability, does not mean that we can naively and impatiently discard all historical statements as mere inventions of the historian.

The confusion, indeed the outrage that the radical new paradigm stirred up among traditional historians was anticipated by Hayden White, one of the iconic figures of the 'literary turn' in America:

All of this is highly schematic, and I know that this insistence on the fictive element in all historical narratives is certain to arouse the ire of historians who believe that they are doing something fundamentally different from the novelist, by virtue of the fact that they deal with 'real', while the novelist deals with 'imagined' events. ... It does not matter whether the world is conceived to be real or only imagined; the manner of making sense of it is the same.³

No less an authority than Arnaldo Momigliano worriedly retorted: „I fear the consequences of his [White's] approach to historiography because he eliminated the research for truth as the main task of the historian“.⁴ Indeed, if „meaning comes into being at the meeting point of text and reader, or, in a more extreme form, is created by readers in the act of reading“⁵, then text interpretation becomes arbitrary and any interpretation can be taken as being equally valid as any other. The choice between them becomes more a matter of taste and inclination rather than a carefully chosen stance on a valid scale between fact and fiction. In postmodernist parlance the words 'true' and 'objective' have been put into the quarantine of scare quotes or were simply eliminated altogether from the vocabulary. The reactions of traditional historians to postmodernism were

² In his contribution to the „Great Debate on History and Postmodernism“, University of Sydney, Australia, 27 July 2002; see <http://www.butterfliesandwheels.com>.

³ White 1978, 98 = White 2001, 235. Although White is considered by many to be a magisterial spokesman for relativist postmodernism, he himself denies being a postmodernist or an anti-realist, asserting that the reality of events in the past is not contradicted by literary portrayals of those events (White 1999, 22; cf. also Barstad 2008, 31–33).

⁴ Momigliano 1981, 49.

⁵ Clines – Exum 1993, 19.

indeed vehement, denouncing it as destructive, frivolously nihilistic and menacing the very legitimacy and *raison d'être* of modern historiography.⁶

At the same time, as readily admitted by Evans, postmodernism has also brought a number of important benefits to humanistic studies:

Postmodernism in its more moderate guises has thus helped open up many new subjects and areas for research, while putting back on the agenda many topics which had previously seemed to be exhausted. It has forced historians to interrogate their own methods and procedures as never before, and in the process has made them more self-critical and self-reflexive, which is all to the good. It has led to a greater emphasis on open acknowledgment of the historian's own subjectivity, which can only help the reader engaged in a critical assessment of historical work.⁷

I openly acknowledge my lack of scholarly competence to delve into the philosophical and literary intricacies of postmodernist theory, but I am inclined to steer, like Richard Evans and Carlo Ginzburg,⁸ a middle course between postmodernist reflexivity and the traditional historical-critical approach. As any theory taken to an extreme, radical postmodernism has brought the discipline of historiography to an impasse. In this article I intend to focus on what I see as some of the postmodern excesses and errors in the domain of ancient Near Eastern historiography in general and Hittite historiography in particular.

⁶ See Evans 1999, 6–8 for a long list of quotations, some of them quite caustic. It is interesting to note in this context the prophetic warning of Marc Bloch against „the injury to our profession“ caused by such mind-sets, written in 1941, more than a generation before the actual advent of postmodernism (Bloch 1953, 15 f.): „The other school of inquirers took a quite different point of view. Unsuccessful in cramming the stuff of history into the legalistic framework of physical science, and particularly disturbed, because of their early training, by the difficulties, doubts, and many fresh beginnings required by documentary criticism, they drew from their inquiries the moral lesson of a disillusioned humility. In the final reckoning, they felt that they were devoting their talents to a discipline which promised neither very positive conclusions in the present, nor the hope of progress in the future. They tended to view history less as truly scientific knowledge than as a sort of aesthetic play, a hygienic exercise favorable to health of mind. They have sometimes been called *historiens historisants*, possessing the truly ‘historical’ point of view; but such a judgment does injury to our profession, for it seems to find the essence of history in the very denial of its possibilities. For my part, I should prefer to find a more expressive symbol for them in the moment of French thought with which they are associated.“

⁷ Evans 1999, 216.

⁸ Ginzburg 1999, 25: „Sources are neither open windows, as the positivists believe, nor fences obstructing vision, as the skeptics hold: if anything, we would compare them to distorting mirrors. The analysis of the specific distortion of every specific source already implies a constructive element. But construction ... is not incompatible with proof; the projection of desire, without which there is no research, is not incompatible with the refutations inflicted by the principle of reality. Knowledge (even historical knowledge) is possible.“ See also McCullagh 1998; 2004a and 2004b for a defence of the practice of history against the postmodernist assault on any notion of the reality of the past.

I. Liverani's semiological revolution

I.1 New intellectual trends are usually slow to penetrate the precincts of ancient Near Eastern studies, but the work of the renowned Italian historian Mario Liverani defies this generalisation. Already in the early 1970s he responded to structuralist and post-structuralist intellectual currents arriving mainly from France. Notably, he attempted to apply the methods of semiotic 'counter-information' developed by Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco and others to the decoding of the political discourse of ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions.⁹ In his seminal „Memorandum on the approach to historiographic texts“ (1973) Liverani suggested:

...to view the document not as a 'source of information', but as information in itself; not as an opening on a reality laying beyond, but as an element which makes up that reality.¹⁰ ... In this type of approach our attention is no more centered on the events, but on how they are narrated. For the event is foreign, to a certain extent, to the author of the text, is independent of his will and does not aid us in characterizing him (ibid.)... Only by switching the focus of interest from the *event* to the *pattern* can a total or comprehensive reading of the text be achieved, a reading which seeks to understand not only *why the text was written*, but also *why the text was written in that particular way*.¹¹

Liverani demonstrated his method of reading against the grain of the narrative in order to expose its ideological aims through several examples of thought patterns of mythical character in historiographic texts.¹² His separate studies (on Idrimi, Rib-Hadda, Telipinu, etc.) were woven together and expanded in his magisterial *Prestige and Interest* (1990), where the deconstruction of the *historical event* and the imaginary *historical kernel* was brought to its ultimate conclusion:

Since ideology exerts its influence both on the accounts and on the events themselves, the space left to the physical reality is rather restricted, almost unimportant after all.¹³

⁹ Liverani 1973, 193 f.; Liverani 2001, 207, n. 28.

¹⁰ Liverani 1973, 179.

¹¹ Liverani 1973, 189 f.

¹² It is only fair to add in passing that much of what Liverani prescribed in the 1970s, traditional historians have to a large extent always done, though perhaps without the elaborate theoretical matrix laid out by Liverani; for some references see Bagg 1998, 102.

¹³ Liverani 1990, 294. The passage containing this statement was removed from the revised edition of the book (Liverani 2001, 202). I wonder whether this subtraction should be attributed to trivial editorial considerations or rather to Liverani's comment in the Preface (p. viii) that „of course my ideas underwent substantial changes through the period“.

If the concept of ‘historical event’ is a pure abstraction¹⁴ and the physical reality is „almost unimportant after all“, then the hope of acquiring some reliable knowledge about the past is all but given up. In accordance with postmodernist doctrine, the very aim of getting as close as possible to the historical truth thus becomes a futile, indeed „an absurd search for the historical kernel“¹⁵.

One of the far-reaching demonstrations of the new paradigm was provided in the symposium on *Akkad, the First World Empire*, convened by Liverani in Rome in 1990, where most participants have embraced the ‘advanced positions’ described by Liverani in terms of „a real Copernican revolution“¹⁶. In his contributions to the volume of the proceedings Liverani draws a strict line between largely reliable contemporaneous sources (mostly archival texts) and the historiographic literature on the Sargonic dynasty, which Liverani asserts can provide valid clues only on the later period in which it was (arguably) produced.

Liverani has no doubt been one of the most intellectually incisive scholars in the field, paving the way for the implementation of new theories and methodologies in ancient Near East studies, from historical materialism to structuralism, from psychoanalysis and gender theory to postmodernist self-reflexivity.¹⁷ In fact, in many cases he

¹⁴ Liverani 1973, 185: „I am afraid that the concept of ‘historical event’ – but I hesitate entering into a field inaccessible to me – is a pure abstraction, which in all cases implies a choice in interpretation, a way of understanding and of presenting.“ ... „We must resign ourselves to recognize that the so-called ‘event’ is, upon objective consideration, so complex as to be impossible to describe and in fact unusable: every use of it implies a drastic simplification which is necessarily biased in one direction.“ Cf. Liverani 2001, 119: „The problem is not to sift away ideology in order to discover the ‘real facts’, but on the contrary to better appreciate ideology through an evaluation of its factual basis.“

¹⁵ Liverani 1993, 6.

¹⁶ Liverani 1993, 6. 45. It seems that over the years Liverani gradually embraced a more modest stance: „During these twenty years, my attitude has alternated between enthusiasm for discovering a ‘key’ of great explanatory power, and the feeling that the key was so obvious that everyone should know or could discover it“ (Liverani 2001, viii). Cf. also Liverani 2005, 238: „the task of unveiling (and confessing) our own bias is much more difficult than underscoring that which influenced scholars of past generations.“

¹⁷ For a concise survey of the development of Liverani’s scholarship, see the introduction of Bahrani and Van De Mieroop to Liverani 2004. It seems that over the years Liverani has become more aware of the dangers of applying too harshly the deconstructive methods of text criticism on the sparse and fragile documentation of the ancient Near East: „In ancient history data are so questionable and rare that a deconstructionist approach to their reading can easily generate a major crisis about the very basic facts. ... For sure, Mesopotamia, too, can and must assimilate a dose of deconstructionism, provided that the dose is not excessive, and above all that it goes hand in hand with more traditional work on the still primary task of ascertaining the fundamental facts. ... Unlike modern historians, who deal with a reality so solid as to allow them to play the game ‘let’s imagine that it didn’t exist’, we are dealing with a period in time when the very ascertainment of the basic facts is still an open problem“ (Liverani 2000, 331 f.). Cf. also Bagg 1998, 107: „Diese Arbeit [*Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II*] ist ein deutlicher Beweis dafür, daß Liverani seine ‘nihilisti-

has anticipated intellectual trends before they became fashionable in cultural studies throughout the world.¹⁸ His ‘semiological movement’¹⁹ has been in vogue above all, but not only, in Italian scholarship.²⁰ In their useful volume of Liverani’s articles translated into English, Bahrani and Van De Mieroop²¹ deplored the fact that his Italian articles „have been ignored to a great extent by non-Italian scholars, despite their often fundamental rereading of ancient texts that are the basis of many of our historical reconstructions“²². My own impression is that Liverani’s influence on ancient Near Eastern studies has been far more decisive than it may appear on the face of it. As noted by the renowned French historian Marc Bloch, co-founder of the *Annales* School, „for a philosophy to impregnate an entire age, it is not necessary that it should act precisely in accordance with a prescribed formula nor that the majority of minds should come under its influence except by a sort of osmosis of which they are often only half aware“²³.

I.2 One of the few historians who directly challenged Liverani’s methods of historical inquiry was the Yale Assyriologist William W. Hallo. In his programmatic article „New Directions in Historiography“ (1998) he rejected one by one its basic tenets, most importantly in the present context, Liverani’s total rejection of the ‘burdensome’ notion of a ‘historical kernel’ and his conviction that the only valid reason for studying historiographic literature is „the search for the author and the environment of the text itself, its purpose, its audience, and the historical knowledge that was really available at that time“²⁴. Rather, a historical document should be explored for useful information *both* about the events it purports to relate *and* about its author.²⁵

In this and in other articles Hallo unnecessarily entangled the discussion on the reconstruction of Mesopotamian history with the long-standing dichotomy between so-called ‘maximalists’ and ‘minimalists’ in Biblical historiography.²⁶ I am not sure that

sche Phase’ überwunden hat, und daß für ihn Königsinschriften trotz ihres ideologischen Gehalts historisch relevant sind.“

¹⁸ Bahrani and Van de Mieroop in Liverani 2004, viii f.

¹⁹ Liverani 2008, 33 f.

²⁰ First and foremost, his associates of the „Scuola Romana“ – a.o. G. del Monte, M. Fales, L. Milano, F. Pintore and C. Zaccagnini – who have contributed important studies on the political conceptions of the Ancient Near East, each in his own field of expertise. Among the numerous followers of Liverani’s methods outside Italy suffice it to mention only a few from various sub-disciplines: Baines 1996: *passim*; van de Mieroop 1997, 298; Bagg 1998; von Dassow 1999; Brand 2007.

²¹ Liverani 2004, vii.

²² See also Van de Mieroop 1997, 298.

²³ Bloch 1953, 84.

²⁴ Liverani 1993, 6. 43.

²⁵ For the continuing debate on the composition and the historicity of the Akkadian heroic traditions, see now Goodnick Westenholz 2010 (with ample bibliographical references).

²⁶ Hallo 1990, 193 f.; Hallo 1998, 121f. In an entirely different context (of archives before writing), Liverani 1994, 414 f. juxtaposed a ‘maximalist-optimist’ school of thought and a ‘minimalist-pessimist’ one, classifying himself clearly with the latter.

the comparison of the problems pertaining to the historiographies of the Sargonic and the Davidic dynasties is really helpful for either side. With great vigour and confidence Hallo disputed the increasingly louder voices advocating what they termed a ‘healthy scepticism’, but which was in fact a corrosive and debilitating pessimism.²⁷ His simple plea „to write ancient history by taking the ancient documents seriously without taking them literally“ (1998: 110) still resonates compellingly, despite the harsh criticism of his credulity, which was often considered by his opponents as „little more than a euphemism for gullibility“²⁸.

One of the inevitable results of the hyper-critical mind-set permeating historical studies from the 1970s on is a conspicuous transformation in scholarly focus, namely a decreasing interest in political history and a rush towards other historical sub-disciplines, such as socio-economic, cultural and intellectual histories. Of course, this development may have had also other, perhaps more important reasons (e.g. the overwhelming influence of the French *Annales* School), but postmodernist frames of mind are likely to be at least partly responsible, intentionally or unintentionally, for a certain undervaluation of, and perhaps even disdain for political (and military) history. A prominent Egyptologist wrote in his prognosis of ancient history in the 21st century that „the aim of interpretation ceases to be simply a search for ‘what happened’ – an approach that may not be productive.“ ... „the basic goal of reconstructing a historical skeleton is vital, but attempts to create modern-style political history of Egypt or of the ancient Near East are best transmuted into cultural and socioeconomic approaches.“²⁹

Fortunately, not all historians have succumbed to such pessimistic appraisals of political history and many of them still invest their skills and energy in adding flesh and skin to the dry bones of the ‘historical skeleton’. Due to the lamentable scarcity of archival material (in comparison with its extraordinary abundance in Mesopotamia), Hittite historiography in particular is dependent on a maximal exploitation of narrative sources. In the following pages I intend to provide a brief survey of the development of Hittite historiographic scholarship, focusing on some recent mind-sets of textual criticism.

II. Reassessing Hittite historiography

II.1 In the writings of the early masters of Hittitology an exceptional ‘historical consciousness’ or ‘historical sense’ (*Geschichtsbewußtsein*; *historischer Sinn*) was attribut-

²⁷ This pessimism had of course many early precursors (e.g., in the oeuvres of L. Oppenheim and F. R. Kraus), for which see Hallo 1990; cf. also Bagg 1998, 101, n. 12.

²⁸ Hallo 1990, 187.

²⁹ Baines 1996, 352 f. Cf. also Cowan 2006: „Political historians have to a large degree abandoned the hope that with enough intensive archival study they can obtain a complete understanding of past politics and thus write ‘definitive studies’. Instead, the history of ‘political cultures’ tends to dominate.“

ed to the Hittite historical sources.³⁰ Albrecht Goetze acclaimed their sophisticated portrayal of complex situations for their own sake, unlike the tedious lists of events glorifying the king in other historiographies.³¹ Heinrich Otten maintained that the typical Hittite mentality, illustrated by the ability to organize disparate events into a coherent account, is already manifested in the historically credible Anitta inscription.³² Annelies Kammenhuber, who considered Anitta to be a Proto-Hattian, attributed this special historical penchant not exclusively to the Indo-European heritage of the Hittites, but to a symbiotic blend between them and their Proto-Hattian predecessors.³³ Alfonso Archi, though admitting the partiality of the Hittite historical sources, distinguished between the strictly religious world view of Mesopotamia and the Hittite worldview, in which history is generated by human action.³⁴ Hans G. Güterbock concluded that „in all its complexity it [Muršili's annals] gives a vivid picture of events which most probably happened the way they are told here. The description of how the king had to make decisions in difficult situations has the ring of truth“³⁵. Oliver R. Gurney observed that „the practice [of providing historical examples] seems to show an attitude to history which became a marked feature of all the later royal decrees“; „... the Hittites created their own literary forms and style, which contrast strikingly with those of the other contemporary nations“³⁶.

³⁰ For general surveys see Klinger 2001, 272–276 and Klinger 2008, 30.

³¹ Goetze 1933¹/1957², 175: „Sie [die Annalistik] berichtet bereits über Ereignisse um ihrer selbst willen. Dieser Bericht geht weit hinaus über öde Glorifizierung des Königs. Er beschränkt sich auch nicht auf eine trockene Aufzählung von Ereignissen. Vielmehr sind Situationen eindrucksvoll dargestellt und Ereignisse unter einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten geordnet ...“

³² Otten 1951, 44: „Ich beurteile demnach die im Anitta-Text geschilderten Ereignisse als historisch getreu ...“; „Der wache historische Sinn, der auch diese alte Inschrift in drei Kopien auf uns hat kommen lassen, die Fähigkeit Ereignisse im Zusammenhang zu sehen und darzustellen, so auch die Ordnung des Einzelgeschehens unter einen Leitgedanken ... alles das war seit je als typisch hethitische Geisteshaltung in Anspruch genommen worden.“

³³ Kammenhuber 1958, 152: „Man [i.e. Otten] hat in diesem historischen Sinn eine Auswirkung der indogermanischen Eigenart der Hethiter sehen wollen und damit sicher nicht ganz unrecht. Doch wenn man bedenkt, daß andere indogermanische Völker wie vor allem die Inder und ein Teil der Iranier keinerlei historischen Sinn zeigen und ausserdem berücksichtigt, daß in dem Bericht des Protohattiers Anitta ein früher Vorläufer der Annalen bezeugt ist, dann dürfte diese Ansicht doch wohl dahingehend abzuwandeln sein, daß erst die Symbiose zwischen Protohattiern und indogermanischen Hethitern eine solche Frucht zeitigen konnte.“ Cf. also Cancik 1970, 48: „Die Vermutung, die hethitische Geschichtsschreibung sei ein Produkt des sogenannten indogermanischen Geistes, ist jedenfalls lediglich mit Hilfe kräftiger Vorurteile und Unkenntnis aufrechtzuhalten.“

³⁴ Archi 1969, 20: „Di per sé la visione del presente condizionato dal passato, e non solo per l'elemento religioso, cosa questa comune anche in Mesopotamia, ma soprattutto per quello politico, è sempre presente nella storiografia ittita...; poichè ciò che fa storia è l'agire umano, è l'azione umana che determina il presente.“

³⁵ Güterbock 1983, 34.

³⁶ Gurney 1990, 143. 147.

II.2 The most penetrating literary analysis of Hittite historiography was provided by the renowned classicist Hubert Cancik in two monographs published in 1970 and 1976.³⁷ In the first study, dedicated to ‘mythical and historical truth’, Cancik refuted the commonly held view that ‘proper historiography’ (which provides not only a listing of events but a coherent causalistic composition alluding to some deeper meaning) begins only in ancient Israel and Greece, demonstrating that the Hittite historical texts, with their broad historical and theological perspectives, fully deserve the designation of ‘proper historiography’ (*eigentliche Geschichtsschreibung*).³⁸ Moreover, he observed that the Hittite concept of ‘truth’ differs fundamentally from that of other Near Eastern cultures.³⁹

In his second monograph Cancik (1976) went a step further in his detailed comparison of the Hittite and Biblical historiographic narrative styles, focusing on Muršili’s annalistic compositions which represent the zenith of Hittite historiography. He again demonstrated that Hittite historiography exhibits a ‘historical distance’ from the events and reflective thought about the action itself and about its representation.⁴⁰ In this respect it is far superior to Mesopotamian and Egyptian historical traditions and anticipates the rise of the Israelite and the Greek historiographies.⁴¹

Cancik’s groundbreaking studies did not go unchallenged, some critics going as far as suspecting him of cultural racism.⁴² In my view, they still constitute the foundation

³⁷ See also Cancik 1993 and 2002, 74–81 (a brief summary on Hittite and Luwian historiographies in the catalogue of the exhibition *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*).

³⁸ Cancik 1970, 71 f.: „Würde man diese Kriterien unbefangen auf hethitische historische Texte anwenden, so fände man zahlreiche Texte, die den Namen ‘eigentliche Geschichtsschreibung’ verdienen, da sie, wie oben an einigen Beispielen dargestellt wurde, militärisch-politische Zusammenhänge sachgemäß, in ihren kausalen Abhängigkeiten, mit bedachter Auswahl, in literarischen Kompositionen darstellen und auf übergreifende geschichtliche oder theologische Verbindungen hinweisen.“ Cf. also Mendenhall – Herion 1992, 1181: „These prologues [of Hittite treaties] are not unrelated to the question of the origin of history writing in the ancient world (a subject surrounded by obscurity, mystery, and controversy).“

³⁹ Cancik 1970, 78–90, concluding that (p. 90): „... die anderen altorientalischen Kulturen, was die Praxis und ‘Theorie’ des historischen Wahrheitsbegriffes betrifft, sich nicht mit den hethitischen Historiographen messen können. Diese Feststellung gilt auch für die israelitische Geschichtsschreibung, wenigstens soweit sie uns durch das Alte Testament tradiert wurde.“ Idem 2002, 76: „Allerdings gibt es Argumentationen, die einen Wahrheitsbegriff verwenden, wie er aus dem Zeugnis vor Gericht und der Sorgfalt im Umgang mit Dokumenten (*fides diplomatica*) bekannt ist.“

⁴⁰ Cancik 2002, 75: „Die Anzahl und der Umfang der Werke, die aus langer Tradition erwachsende literarische Technik, die Ausbildung von „historischer Distanz“ zu den Ereignissen, die Reflexion auf das eigene Tun erreichen in dieser Phase der hethitischen Geschichte einen Höhepunkt.“

⁴¹ Cancik 1976, 59: „Außerdem sei es kein Zufall, daß die israelitische und griechische Geschichtsschreibung sich in der ehemaligen hethitischen Einflußsphäre entwickelt habe; in Juda wie in Halikarnass sei die Geschichtsschreibung auf dem Nährboden der hethitischen Geschichtsschreibung gewachsen.“

⁴² Liverani 2010, 164: „By the way, the ‘Hittite exception’ advanced by Cancik (in the 1970s of past century) raises the doubt that the racist approach had not really disappeared, after all.“ Cf. also van Seters 1983, 105, who accused Cancik of being „rather unfair in his treatment of the Mesopotamian

for any comparative research on Hittite historiography. In concluding this short overview on the early stages of Hittite historiographical studies it may be observed that each of the great masters developed his own attitude toward Hittite historiography, but they all seem to have approached the subject with an open mind and without imposing on it rigid theoretical paradigms.

II.3 Though the initial esteem enjoyed by Hittite historiography is still seen sporadically,⁴³ first cracks in its lustre seem to have appeared already in the late 1970s, perhaps not coincidentally with the advent of the ‘literary turn’ in humanistic studies. In the proceedings of a conference on „Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East” held in Toronto in 1976, Harry A. Hoffner Jr. already captured the spirit of the age in his statement that „our concern is not primarily with these sources [historical prologues] as evidence for real happenings but rather as objects of study in their own right, as evidence for the way their authors saw (or would like us to see) the events described”⁴⁴. This largely coincides with Liverani’s dictum to regard a text not as a source for knowledge on what the document says, but rather as a source for knowledge of itself.⁴⁵ Hoffner still spoke highly of „the unsuspected sophistication of literary technique employed by Hittite author-compilers of historical texts”⁴⁶, but he called into question the superiority of Hittite historical consciousness: „It seems to me, therefore, gratuitous to speak of a praiseworthy *historischer Sinn* of the Hittites, which was clearly superior to the concepts of the neighboring contemporary peoples and which one must attribute [as per Kammenhuber] to the symbiosis between Hattians and Indo-European Hittites.”⁴⁷

II.4 A year after the Toronto conference on historiography, Liverani published his seminal study on the Telipinu Edict (1977), in which he exposed the schematic binary pattern of successive good and bad reigns, with Telipinu himself as the culmination at the positive end.⁴⁸ Only ‘lazy’ or ‘simple-minded’ historians, claimed Liverani⁴⁹, would

material.” Typical of van Seters’s evaluation of Near Eastern historiography is the statement: „on balance it seems to me that the Egyptian annals are more sophisticated historiographic works than the Hittite annals, at least within the limits of the genre” (ib., 151); cf. also n. 34 below.

⁴³ One of the most explicit defenders of the traditional approach is Herbert M. Wolf, who concludes his suggestively titled article „The Historical Reliability of the Hittite Annals” (Wolf 1994, 164) as following: „The Hittites did not seem to have the same tendency toward exaggeration found among the Assyrians and Egyptians, and this factor places their work in a more positive light. It also indicates that annalistic records may be quite objective and a great help to those who want to study history *per se* in the ancient Near East.”

⁴⁴ Hoffner 1980, 311.

⁴⁵ Liverani 1973, 179.

⁴⁶ Hoffner 1980, 311.

⁴⁷ Hoffner 1980, 322.

⁴⁸ Cf. also Devecchi 2008a, 376. In a new study Liverani compares Telipinu’s model of a peaceful and united Old Kingdom to the Biblical reconstruction of the powerful United Monarchy of David and Solomon (Liverani 2010, 183 f.). Surprisingly, thirty years after his original article on the Edict

buy into such a forged representation of the past instead of vigilantly deciphering its deeper ideological codes.⁵⁰ Following Liverani's model, his students put in the pillory of hyper-sceptical criticism not only compositions whose propagandistic nature is widely held (such as Telipinu's Edict and Hattušili's Apology), but also more solid narrative sources, such as annals and historical introductions to state treaties. These were passed through a dense critical sieve in search of rhetorical tropes such as metaphors, archetypes, figurative language, fairy-tale motifs, *topoi*, etc., in short, all kinds of narratological devices that are supposed to undermine the veracity of these historical sources.

The affair of the Egyptian widow was exposed as a fascinating fairy-tale about an anonymous queen seeking a new husband and an anonymous doomed prince lost on his way to Egypt.⁵¹ Counter-reading the episode in this manner, all scholarly efforts invested in the identification of the deceased Pharaoh Niphururiya, thereby establishing a valuable Egyptian-Hittite synchronism, are, and will always remain, futile attempts.⁵² Šuppiluliuma's seven-day siege of Karkamiš is merely a 'mythical number' allegedly corresponding to the duration of the Hittite messenger's trip to Egypt and back, which in its turn emulates the fairy-tale of the „Seven League Boots“ (*stivali delle sette leghe*).⁵³ Practically nothing, even in the best of historical sources,⁵⁴ can be trusted;

of Telipinu, Liverani still repeats his conviction that Labarna I was a „non-existent archetypal king“ (Liverani 1977, 110 = Liverani 2004, 33), „who has no historical foundation at all“ (Liverani 2010, 183), totally ignoring recent scholarship on early Hittite history following the discovery of the Cruciform Seal (Dinçol et al. 1993, 93–106; Beal 2003, 13, n. 2; Forlanini 2004a, 381–389). As cogently observed by Güterbock 1983, 29 (cf. also Archi 2005, 26–28), the fact that Telipinu's description follows a schematic form does not necessarily disqualify it as a valuable source on the early history of the Old Hittite kingdom.

⁴⁹ Liverani 1977, 105 = Liverani 2004, 28, 31.

⁵⁰ For an even harsher criticism of the „clear *backwardness* of oriental historical studies“ see O. Carrena 1989, 18 f. For him „history must be treated by historians and not by philologists“, and „even the contributions by M. Liverani are still general and present the problems in a way that is still too wide.“ For a judicious rejection of Carrena's standpoint, see Bagg 1998, 103: „Nicht jeder Philologe muß ein Historiker sein, aber jeder Historiker des Alten Orients sollte Philologe sein.“

⁵¹ Pintore 1978, 46–50; del Monte 1993, 42 f.

⁵² Del Monte 1993, 43: „In queste condizioni non è difficile comprendere perché siano sempre rimasti vani, e saranno destinati a restare tali, gli sforzi degli storici moderni di identificare il Faraone defunto (Piphururiya o Niphururiya nelle variante delle edizioni del testo), identificato alternativamente con Amenophis IV, Smenkhkare e Tutankhamun, e quindi di costruire un sincronismo egizio-ittita per questa via: troppo abile è stato l'ignoto redattore delle 'Gesta' nel costruire una novella affascinante e coerente pescando tra elementi e fonti disparate di varia provenienza e funzionalità.“ For recent historical reexaminations of this important Egyptian-Hittite synchronism, see Miller 2007; Wilhelm 2009 and Wilhelm forthcoming; Devecchi – Miller 2011.

⁵³ Del Monte 1993, 43 maintains that the seven-day duration of the trip is inferred from the text, but in my opinion this is a forced interpretation. The text only says that „until Hattušaziti returned from Egypt my father conquered the city of Carchemish“ (A iii 26 f.); this indeed establishes a contemporaneity but not a chronological overlapping of the two events. In fact, a few lines later the text explicitly states that Hattušaziti returned from Egypt only in the spring (E₃ 24 *hamešhanza*), long after Karkamiš had already been conquered and Šuppiluliuma had spent the winter in Hatti (E₃ 21-

everything must be perceived through the distorted mirror of fictionality and an historian who fails to expose the underlying charade is either naïve or lazy.

Outside Italy the Hittitological world seems to have been „slightly shaken but not stirred“ (like James Bond likes his Martini) by Liverani’s ‘semiological revolution’.⁵⁵ Most historical studies, including general surveys,⁵⁶ touch only sporadically, if at all, on theoretical and methodological issues, concentrating instead on the painstaking philological work of text restoration, dating problems and the reconstruction of a plausible historical narrative. Historians, especially Hittitologists, generally prefer to write narratives than to write *about* narratives.⁵⁷ Recently, however, it seems that the postmodernist tide has also reached, with considerable delay, the more introverted field of Hittite historiography. Two leading Hittitologists on either sides of the Atlantic (apparently unaware of each other’s studies) have called into question the ‘conventional wisdom’ on Hittite historiography, notably its reputation of relative credibility.

II.5 In a paper presented at the 4th Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg, Jörg Klinger (2001) reexamined the basic questions of Hittite historiography – its origins, its development, its relationship to Assyrian historiography, and above all, its reputation as more ‘advanced’ than other contemporary historiographies. He pointed out that Hittitology lags considerably behind Assyriology in the introspective inspection of its methodological premises and laid out the parameters for a comprehensive re-examination of Hittite historiography. The following comments only concern the question of credibility of the Hittite historical sources.

The first insurmountable difficulty in evaluating the credibility of the sources is their unilateral perspective. There are no alternative narratives, even when the historical circumstances cry out for opposite viewpoints (e.g. in the conflict between Muršili III/Urhi-Tešub and Hattušili III). Klinger is certainly right when he says that all Hittite

23); Güterbock 1956, 95 f.; del Monte 2009a, 89. 94. In his studious new edition of the Deeds, del Monte 2009a, 115, n.51 is aware of the apparent contradiction between the two passages, but he nevertheless insists on a seven-day trip in the first, allegedly fable-like, passage. His grammatical argumentation is hardly conclusive: the combination of *kuitman* and *appezziyaz* has indeed a temporal connotation of contemporaneity, but by no means requires a full overlapping of the time-span of the two actions. The seven-day conquest of Karkamiš indeed happened *during* Hattušaziti’s trip to Egypt, but that certainly does not mean that the trip itself lasted only seven days.

⁵⁴ Such as Muršili’s annals, for which see del Monte 2009b (see further n. 45 below). For a more positive view on Muršili’s annals see, e.g., Polvani 2005, 283: „... un testo con una struttura narrativa solida che racconta con precisione azioni militari e politiche...“.

⁵⁵ To be sure, in Italy itself not all Hittitologists have embraced Liverani’s interpretative methods, but few have come to grips directly with his ideas. Suffice it to mention the historical studies of Piero Meriggi, Fiorella Imparati and Alfonso Archi, along with their numerous students in Pavia, Firenze and Roma, respectively.

⁵⁶ E.g. Klengel 1999; Bryce 2005.

⁵⁷ For the reluctance of ancient historians to deal with recent developments within the philosophy of history, see the pertinent description of Barstad 2008, 8–10.

historiography is tendentious and therefore it is imperative to find out the motivation behind each narrative.⁵⁸ (This, by the way, is true of all historiographies before the Greeks, and many would say that after them as well.) I also agree with him that Hittite kings, especially Muršili II, are exceptionally self-righteous and that they go out of their way to legitimize their bellicose actions, in contrast, e.g., to the Assyrians kings, whose world dominion was assumed to be god-given.⁵⁹ Where I cannot follow Klinger is his implicit assumption that the claim of innocence necessarily reflects untrustworthiness. We are here on the slippery ground of fluid philosophical and psychological concepts, but to my mind, the pressing need to prove oneself right and truthful does not of and by itself prove that one is a liar or a deceiver. Unless one can expose a lie through contradicting evidence, one should grant the ‘culprit’ at least the benefit of doubt.

The rare cases in which conflicting versions of the same episode are recounted are used by Klinger to the detriment of Hittite credibility. The conflict with the Egyptians is blamed on them in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, whereas in the Second Plague Prayer Muršili admits that his father violated the Egyptian border at Amka. For me, this example rather speaks in favour of Hittite integrity. On a literary level, the fact that both texts were written under Muršili only accentuates the ability of the author(s) to present in each text a coherent narrative embedded in its own period, without an artificial attempt to unify the two versions. Between the two narrated events a terrible plague occurred in Hatti, which may well have forced the Hittites to rethink their past actions in order to placate the angry gods.⁶⁰ The oracles also proved their guilt. Apparently, the situation on the disputed Egyptian-Hittite border was not as clear-cut as Klinger infers; in fact, there is yet a third version of the events surrounding Kinza/Qadeš (not mentioned by him), which may be the closest to reality. In Šuppiluliuma’s treaty with Šattiwazza of Mittani he explicitly says: „I went to the land of Apina, but I did not seek to attack the land of Kinza. But (its king) Šutatarra, together with his son Aitaqqama and his chariotry came against me for battle“.⁶¹ Tension along the border may have escalated into a full-fledged conflict between the great powers who blamed each other for the violation of peace. That the Hittites renounced their previously held beliefs when faced with new ‘evidence’ (the plague and its causes as determined by divination) is not a sign of dishonesty. On the contrary, the capability to admit mistakes in retrospect is a rare virtue (even in contemporary cultures).

⁵⁸ Klinger 2001, 287.

⁵⁹ Klinger 2001, 289–291; cf. already Hoffner 1980, 313: „Muršili seems always to be defending himself against real or imagined accusations.“

⁶⁰ This, by the way, is a clear case of causal relations between the past and the present (cf. Malamat 1955), therefore, I fail to understand Van De Mieroop’s statement to the contrary (2004, 146): „They [the Hittites] did not express causal relations between the past and the present. Just as their contemporaries did, they saw the gods as interfering in human affairs, positively and negatively, but they did not come to the conclusion that a particular earlier act had incited the wrath of the gods and caused a problem in the present.“

⁶¹ Beckman 1999, 43 f.

Klinger's second argument for casting doubts on the reliability of Hittite historiography is the reluctance of Hittite kings to admit responsibility for defeat on the battle field. As a rule, rulers throughout history are not particularly keen on admitting failure or defeat, but in this respect the Hittite sources are in fact relatively candid.⁶² Klinger claims that even when they do, they attribute the defeat to a general, or blame it on the fact that „the enemy attacked from behind“, a typical *topos* aimed at diminishing the responsibility of the king.⁶³ I am not sure that this argument really speaks against the credibility of a source, but even if it does, it overlooks at least one renowned case in which a Hittite king not only admits his own defeat but also his humiliating flight from the battlefield; nor does he fall back on the excuse that „the enemy attacked from behind“. In a startlingly realistic account, a Hittite king⁶⁴ writes to his treacherous vassal about the outcome of a decisive battle against the Assyrians:

As (the situation) turned difficult for me, you kept yourself somewhere away from me. Beside me you were not! Have I not fled from Nihriya alone? When it thus occurred that the enemy took away from me the Hurrian lands was I not left on my own in Alatarma?⁶⁵

The passage is remarkable in that the Great King of Hatti admits his humiliating escape from the battlefield to none other than one of his subordinates. Such a frank admission of military failure would simply be unthinkable in an Egyptian or a Mesopotamian document. By means of hyperbolic language they would transform any defeat into a glorious triumph or at least into a respectable draw, as is the case with Ramses II's 'singlehanded victory' over the Hittites at Qadesh⁶⁶, or Sennacherib's defeat of an Elamo-Babylonian coalition at Halule.⁶⁷

⁶² For some examples from the annals of Muršili, see Cancik 1976, 120–122. The statement of J. van Seters 1995, 2437 that in the Hittite annals „defeat or mistakes are never mentioned, because these would reflect impiety and divine punishment“ simply ignores the clear evidence to the contrary.

⁶³ Klinger 2001, 289 f., n. 47.

⁶⁴ I still stand by my opinion (1985) that the author is Tuthaliya IV and that the unnamed vassal is a king of Išuwa. See also Freu 2007, 274, with refs. to the extensive new literature on the subject. For a full translation of the text see Stefanini 1965.

⁶⁵ KBo 4.14 ii 7 ff.; Singer 1985, 110; Bryce 2005, 318.

⁶⁶ See, e.g. Klengel 2002, 55–70. The persuasive power of Ramesside propaganda has apparently not lost its vitality even after the discovery of northern sources which shed light on the political situation in Syria following the battle. According to Hans Goedicke 1985, 108 (with n. 186) there was merely a 'minor skirmish' that ended in a draw: „Ramesses II could not have lost control over Amurru as a result of the events at Kadesh“; rather, „Amurru remained as a kind of buffer between the super-powers“. For recent literature on the textual and pictorial representations of the battle, see refs. in Baines 1996, 349–353 with nn. 27–29; see also the papers assembled in Guidotti – Pecchioli Daddi 2002 and Cavillier 2005, 96, who describes the „Bulletin“ as „fondato sul gigantismo di un apparato propagandistico 'pachidermico'...“.

⁶⁷ Grayson 1965, 342.

It is obvious that these and similar Egyptian and Mesopotamian descriptions of war are entirely subordinated to cosmic and literary imperatives, creating an insurmountable gap between ideology and reality.⁶⁸ Ramses is likened to Montu, and Sennacherib uses language and imagery from the Creation Epic, thereby identifying himself with the victorious Marduk and the defeated Chaldean and Elamite kings with the chaotic creatures of Tiamat.⁶⁹ Like his peers in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittite king was also responsible for maintaining cosmic order, yet he seems to have followed less slavishly obligatory ideological and stylistic conventions, employing a more moderate and 'down-to-earth' language in his military accounts, certainly in comparison with the „egotistical boasts“⁷⁰ of contemporary monarchs.⁷¹ Like his peers, he also enjoyed divine intervention in war,⁷² yet he did not picture himself as the personification of a supreme god and the narrative of his wars was not elevated to mythological dimensions.⁷³ Finally, the Hittites did not develop a heroic literature about their own victorious kings, even though the model of the legendary Akkadian kings was very well known to them.⁷⁴

In his final verdict on Hittite historiography Klinger concludes that the fact that a military undertaking had to be justified shows that the reported facts are real, but the reasons provided for them are sometimes fictional.⁷⁵ Klinger dealt again with Hittite historiography at a conference held in Marburg in 2005, this time focusing mainly on its literary character. In the published paper (2008) Klinger goes a step further in his deconstruction of the reliability traditionally attributed to Hittite historiography.⁷⁶ Further historical accounts are passed through his fine sieve of literary criticism, thereby detecting various literary *topoi*, stereotyped formulations, inconsistencies and inaccuracies, all of which undermine in his opinion their historical credibility.

⁶⁸ Baines 1996, 340 ff.

⁶⁹ Weissert 1997; McCormick 2002, 154 ff.

⁷⁰ Grayson 1980, 191.

⁷¹ I refer of course only to genuine historical sources, such as annals, treaties or letters, not to literary-mythological descriptions, such as the Uršu Siege or the Puhanu Chronicle, where the king is portrayed in supernatural terms.

⁷² Hoffner 1980, 314 f.; Güterbock 1983, 34 f.; Weinfeld 1983; del Monte 1986.

⁷³ Raaflaub 1989, 27 defined the key ingredient in 'political thought' as the ability to analyze human actions on a human plane, without needing to look to divine causation. On the anthropocentric historical concept of the Hittites, see Cancik 1976, 9. 26.

⁷⁴ See Gilan 2010, 55.

⁷⁵ Klinger 2001, 291: „Für die Bewertung der hethitischen Historiographie hat dies m.E. insofern Konsequenzen, als die Tatsache, daß eine militärische Unternehmung erst gerechtfertigt werden muß, den Schluß erlaubt, daß das Faktum als solches real ist, daß allerdings die dafür gelieferten Begründungen u. U. fiktiv sind ...“.

⁷⁶ Klinger 2008, 46: „Die besondere Wertschätzung, der sich die hethitische Historiographie wiederholt erfreut hat, könnte sich also einem Mißverständnis verdanken. Was ihre vermeintliche Qualität – Qualität im Sinne einer historischen Exaktheit – ausmacht, ist gerade nicht ihr besonderer historiographischer Sinn, sondern vielmehr die Tendenz zur literarischen Ausgestaltung der Fakten mit mehr oder weniger fiktionalen Details.“

The first case is the well-known episode of the „tablet of Egypt“ mentioned in three texts written under Muṣṣili. While Šuppiluliuma pondered his response to the Egyptian widow, his counsellors brought an old tablet containing the treaty between Hatti and Egypt and read it out aloud before him and the Egyptian envoy.⁷⁷ This tablet was the so-called ‘Kuruštama Treaty’, some small fragments of which were indeed found at Boğazköy.⁷⁸ In his ‘Second’ Plague Prayer Muṣṣili claims that when the plague continued to decimate the land he performed an oracular inquiry and consequently found two old tablets, one dealing with the ritual of the Mala River, the other with the same Kuruštama affair.⁷⁹ Now, how could Muṣṣili have suddenly ‘found’ this tablet, asks Klinger,⁸⁰ when he was already aware of it from the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma written down by his own command? The narrative in the Deeds must therefore be a politically-motivated and manipulated version, whereas the version in the Plague Prayer is a literary *topos* – ‘the surprising discovery of sources’⁸¹ – whose purpose is to absolve Muṣṣili of any responsibility.⁸²

Once again, like in the case of the attack on Amka (see above), Klinger casts unwarranted doubts on the credibility of the different accounts provided by Muṣṣili. To start with, we do not know which text was written earlier and which later. If the prayer was written first, than the finding of the Kuruštama tablet and the Mala ritual in the archives is perfectly credible; later, when the Deeds were composed, he would have found out that the tablet was already consulted by his father, when he himself was still a young child. If the Deeds were written before the prayer, then Muṣṣili could not possibly have known already about the oracular inquiry that was supposed to expose the sins of his father. Either way, there is nothing utterly incredible in either account, and even if one insists on some feigned ignorance, one should consider the well-known problem of hindsight narrative, which, surprisingly, Klinger does not take into account. How does one portray past events with the benefit of hindsight when one is already aware of their outcome in the present?⁸³ As stated above, one can only admire the ability of Muṣṣili’s scribes to keep a coherent narrative thread in each individual case. For the cultural his-

⁷⁷ Hoffner 1997, 19.

⁷⁸ Singer 2004.

⁷⁹ CTH 378.II; Singer 2002, 58. A „[tablet of] Egypt“ is referred to in yet another prayer of Muṣṣili (CTH 379; Singer 2002, 67), but without an explicit mention of Kuruštama.

⁸⁰ Klinger 2008, 40.

⁸¹ The Muṣṣili episode has been compared with King Josiah’s famous discovery of a scroll in 2 Kings 22-23 (Ben-Dov 2008). The parallel is quite interesting *per se*, but it does not reflect upon the historical veracity of either of the two episodes.

⁸² Klinger 2008, 40: „Die Darstellung im Tatenbericht des Suppiluliuma I. erweist sich damit als eine eindeutig in politischer Absicht manipulierte Version, während die Version in den Pestgebeten sich der literarischen Stilisierung – des überraschenden Fundes – bedient, um Muṣṣili von einer möglichen Mitverantwortung zu schützen.“

⁸³ As pointedly put by the German historian Golo Mann (quoted in Burke 1991, 239), a historian needs „to try to do two different things simultaneously“, to „swim with the stream of events“ and to „analyse these events from the position of a later, better-informed observer“.

torian investigating the preservation of historical memory the really remarkable fact about the ‘Kuruštama affair’ is that a century-old political document was repeatedly consulted by Hittite kings and their archivists for political and religious needs.

Another repeatedly narrated episode scrutinized by Klinger is the submission of Manapa-Tarhunta, king of the Šeha River land. In my opinion, here, too, Klinger is excessively pedantic in comparing the three versions provided by Muršili II.⁸⁴ According to the Comprehensive Annals Manapa-Tarhunta first sent a submissive letter to Muršili and, when this did not succeed, he sent his mother to beg for mercy. In the Ten-Year Annals he sent not only his mother, but also some old men and women who fell at the feet of His Majesty. Finally, in the Manapa-Tarhunta Treaty the mother is not mentioned at all and only the elders serve as messengers who read out Manapa-Tarhunta’s letter before Muršili. I concur with Klinger’s conclusion that in this and similar cases the exact course of the event in reality is of secondary importance or even of no import at all. The emphasis on such minute details may indeed have served what Roland Barthes called the ‘Reality Effect’, an excessively detailed account aimed at convincing the reader that the story is real.⁸⁵ But what does this mean for the overall assessment of a source’s historicity? Is the fact that we shall probably never know who greeted Muršili on his way to the Šeha River Land, only Manapa-Tarhunta’s mother or also the elders of his land (or neither) – details that might be of great interest from a literary point of view – equally important for the historian who assesses the relative credibility of Muršili’s annals? I doubt it. Moreover, is it not a commonplace experience for anyone who has tried to retell a story from memory that small details might be altered or forgotten altogether? I would be much more sceptical if exactly the same narrative would be repeated in all three sources; this would only show me that it was slavishly copied from one text to the other. To my mind, the three slightly divergent versions of the episode do not impinge in any way on the credibility of the central story, Manapa-Tarhunta’s surrender after the defeat of Arzawa.

In conclusion, in his two articles Klinger has greatly advanced our understanding of how Hittite historiographic texts are stylistically construed, but has not shaken, in my opinion, the foundations of the traditional premise of a Hittite *Geschichtsbewusstsein*.⁸⁶ This depends not so much on the literary embellishment of the texts, but rather on their approach to the past and its uses in the present.

⁸⁴ For the textual refs. see Klinger 2008, 43 f. The same episode is also analyzed by del Monte 2009b, 98–102, who characterizes it as a ‘popular novel’ intended to praise the king’s kind and merciful character.

⁸⁵ Barthes 1968, cf. also Ankersmit 1989.

⁸⁶ His concluding verdict on Hittite historiography (Klinger 2008, 47): „Vielleicht bietet die hethitische Historiographie als eigenständige Literaturform, die die Hethiter vermeintlich nicht vorzuweisen haben, nicht den Anfang des Geschichtsbewußtseins, sondern es sind Geschichten, die anstelle von Geschichte am Beginn der Geschichtsschreibung stehen.“

II.6 Almost concurrently with Klinger's lecture in Marburg, Gary Beckman presented his presidential address to the American Oriental Society on „The Limits of Credulity“ (2005), echoing of course Hallo's renowned article on „The Limits of Skepticism“ (1990). Both Beckman and Klinger embrace a highly sceptical attitude towards Hittite historiography, but whereas Klinger's main thrust is in the literary sphere,⁸⁷ Beckman's approach seems to be more entrenched in his general *Weltanschauung*, the so-called 'postmodern condition',⁸⁸ a deep mistrust of *all* official texts *per se*.⁸⁹ After a brief examination of three non-annalistic compositions – the Siege of Uršu, the Proclamation of Telipinu and the Apology of Hattušili – Beckman, who declares himself to be „a confirmed skeptic“, „adopting a rigorous and hypercritical approach to the sources“, concludes with the following advice: „Don't believe everything you read on the tablets. But please note that each of the elements we can now recognize as misrepresentation, in itself tells us something significant about Hittite society or its ideals.“⁹⁰

Beckman knows, of course, that no serious scholar believes everything written on the tablets, nor does any judicious person believe everything he reads in books or newspapers. But in our postmodernist era we face the equally grave danger of total disbelief in *everything* we read or hear, renouncing almost entirely the possibility of acquiring reliable and objective knowledge about the past and the present. As formulated by Marc Bloch in his oft-quoted remark, „Scepticism on principle is neither a more estimable nor a more productive intellectual attitude than the credulity with which it is frequently blended in the simpler minds.“⁹¹

⁸⁷ Following the views of Hayden White on 'emplotment' (see Klinger 2008, 31, n. 16. 45).

⁸⁸ For this designation, which denotes a general loss of confidence within Western democratic culture, see Butler 2002, 110 f.: „There is a strong feeling, through the work of critics like Barthes to the novels of Milan Kundera and Rushdie, that the political and historical event always reaches us in a fictionalized form, in a narrative, massaged by the more or less hidden hand of political or economic purposes.“

⁸⁹ Beckman 2005, 348 f.: „In dealing with these official texts we come up against a significant inherent difficulty: telling the truth is not a value much honored by governments, but is at best secondary to the pursuit of their policy goals, and above all, to assuring their survival. As illustration here I may simply adduce from our recent experience the Iran-Contra mess or *l'affaire Lewinsky*, both of which eventuated in findings or admissions of mendacity in high places.“ (Beckman was apparently still unaware of the far more grave case of Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction.) „Has human nature changed, or should we expect that ancient rulers and their minions had a greater regard for veracity than our contemporaries?“ Cf. also Beckman's 2002 review of Liverani 2001.

⁹⁰ Beckman 2005. 343. 352.

⁹¹ Bloch 1953, 79 f. I followed Beckman 2005 in using this pointed observation as an epigraph for my article, but I think it suits better the more credulous views held by Hallo and myself. Incidentally, the anecdote which prompted Bloch's remark is quite amusing and is typical to our postmodernist New Age: „In the first war, I knew a worthy veterinarian who, with some justification, refused categorically to believe anything in the newspapers. Yet the fellow swallowed hook, line, and sinker the most nonsensical hocus-pocus which any chance companion might pour in his eager ear.“

III. Reassessing the historical introductions to state treaties

III.1 In the third part of this article I would like to reexamine a couple of typical cases in which the veracity of Hittite historical sources has been called into question. The annalistic and biographical literatures have been tackled repeatedly, so I shall take my examples from the corpus of historical introductions to state treaties.⁹² This genre has also been closely examined, but usually only with regard to its structural composition or to its legal and propagandistic contents.⁹³ The question of its historical reliability has usually been addressed only in passing, with the notable exception of Amnon Altman's recent monograph entirely dedicated to *The Historical Prologue of the Hittite Vassal Treaties*⁹⁴. In this study the Israeli scholar sums up his life-long interest in the subject of international law and it may serve as a new reference point for further discussions.⁹⁵ I intend to reconsider in more detail the ideological matrix of the historical introductions elsewhere, whereas here I will focus only on the issue of historical credibility.

III.2 Similarly to other genres of Hittite historiography, the historical introductions to state treaties were highly praised for their reliability in early studies. Probably their most ardent advocate was Einar von Schuler, who maintained that the very fact that historical events had led to the conclusion of a treaty serves as a testament to their objectiveness.⁹⁶ From the late 1970s a clear change in the evaluation of the historical introductions appears in tandem with the reassessment of other historiographic genres. In his survey of Hittite historiography Hoffner wrote: „These rehearsals of events are extremely tendentious. The treaty prologues are at pains to portray the beneficence and wisdom of Hittite imperial foreign policy. One must read between the lines and penetrate behind the façade in order to determine what may have actually happened.“⁹⁷ A

⁹² For the sake of brevity, the references to texts will simply be indicated by the name of the treaty partner (Aziru, Tette, etc.), with occasional references to text numbers in Beckman 1999, where the full textual and bibliographical references can be found. For updates consult the *Hethiter Portal Mainz* under *Staatsverträge der Hethiter* at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TXTsvhl/>.

⁹³ For recent studies on the subject see Steymans 1995; Altman 2004a; Weeks 2004; Beckman 2006; d'Alfonso 2006; Devecchi 2008a; Koch 2008a; Koch 2008b. See also my forthcoming article on historical introductions in the proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology, Warsaw, September 2011.

⁹⁴ Altman 2004a.

⁹⁵ For critical reviews of Altman's book see de Martino 2005; Loretz 2005; Devecchi 2008b.

⁹⁶ Von Schuler 1987–1990, 73: „Die geschichtlichen Ereignisse führen zum Vertrag und müssen gerade deshalb der ‘Wahrheit’ gemäß berichtet werden. So kommt es hier ebenso wie bei der hist. Einleitung von Gebeten und bei der Lehrepisode zu einer ‘objektiven’ Geschichtsschreibung, die negative Tatsachen nicht verschweigen kann.“ Cf., however, Klinger 2001, 288, n. 42: „Diese [von Schuler's] Logik ist mir nicht nachvollziehbar – nichts hinderte bei nicht paritätischen Verträgen den stärkeren Partner daran, die Geschichte vielmehr so darzustellen, wie er ihrer für sein politisches Handeln als Legitimation bedurfte.“

⁹⁷ Hoffner 1980, 311.

similar characterization was provided by Carlo Zaccagnini in his seminal study on Late Bronze Age treaties: „It is well apparent that the Hittite chancery had no difficulty at all in ‘reconstructing’ the past in such a way as to arrange a suitable basis for an optimal organization of the present and the future. To this effect, the historical sections of the treaties are a ‘literary’ genre in itself, whose function is totally coherent with the ideology and the practical aims of the treaties“. ⁹⁸ In a recent study the historical introductions were even relegated to the realm of the ‘mythical’ past. ⁹⁹

III.3 The debasement of the historical introductions as products of a sophisticated political propaganda is often the result of an *a priori* disbelief in a political accord dictated by an authoritarian suzerain to a submissive vassal. By definition, such an imbalanced relationship simply *cannot* be expected to be historically reliable. Few studies have pursued the difficult task of actually demonstrating this claim by pointing out the alleged inconsistencies or full-fledged distortions of the historical truth. It is indeed very difficult to establish the unreliability of a source on the contrary evidence supplied by some other more reliable documents. Very few events enjoy the privilege of being covered by multiple sources emanating from different authors who are not bound together by a uniform political agenda. Altman is one of the few commentators who had actually tried to prove his assertion that the historical introductions of Hittite treaties are rather economical with the truth. He detected a series of allegedly misleading assertions classifying them in escalating order as ‘misleading wording’, ‘inaccurate statements’, and ‘falsehoods and distortions of factual reality’. ¹⁰⁰

The milder cases of alleged distortions concern discrepancies between the various accounts of the Hittite takeover of Syria, namely, the historical prologues of the treaties with Šattiwazza, Tette and Niqmaddu. However, as recently demonstrated by Gernot Wilhelm (forthcoming), these seeming discrepancies are not the result of ignorance or misinformation, but rather of the well-known phenomenon of associative text organiza-

⁹⁸ Zaccagnini 1990, 71.

⁹⁹ Devecchi 2008a, 377: „La ricostruzione di un passato ‘mitico’, non necessariamente basato su fatti realmente accaduti, è infatti un altro procedimento storiografico utilizzato abbastanza spesso nei prologhi dei trattati, poiché era determinante fondare su basi favorevoli le relazioni tra due regni.“

¹⁰⁰ Altman 2004a, 29–34. He maintains that these distortions of the truth prove that the historical introductions were „addressed not to the vassal king and his court but to the gods, the heavenly judges“ (Altman 2004a, 34), „whose ability to know the true facts was limited“ (ib., 41). I cannot tackle here the thorny question of what the Hittite gods (or any gods for that matter) knew or knew not, but I mention in passing that the evidence cited by Altman to this effect (Altman 1998, 102, n. 14, with ref. to Steiner 1957–1971) is hardly convincing. All the references to the allegedly limited abilities of the gods to know the true facts come from mythological texts and concern their limited perception of other gods. On the contrary, in their dealings with humans the gods are characterized as omniscient (Steiner, ib.: 567). See Devecchi 2008a, 380–384 for a refutation of Altman’s problematic assumption.

tion, whereby events which occur over an extended period are retrospectively ‘telescoped’ into one successive narrative, in this case, the ‘One Year Campaign’ of Šuppiluliuma as recounted in the Šattiwazza treaty.¹⁰¹ Naturally, no historical account can gullibly be accepted *mot-à-mot* without a critical inspection, but there is a difference between a ‘narrative license’ of this kind and a deliberate falsification of historical reality for legal or political purposes. Altman’s parade examples for actual falsification of historical reality are taken from the introductions of the Alakšandu and the Šaušgamuwa treaties.¹⁰² These cases, which have also been discussed by other commentators, deserve a closer look, also in the light of new evidence.

III.4 The historical introduction of the Alakšandu treaty covers the longest time span within the corpus, stretching back into the Old Kingdom, i.e. more than three centuries. Despite the many duplicates it is still incomplete, but the overall sense can be reconstructed safely.¹⁰³ An important modification by Frank Starke in the rendering of a crucial phrase (marked in italics) may somewhat alter the implications of the passage:¹⁰⁴

§2 Formerly, when my forefather Labarna had subdued the whole land of Arzawa [and] the whole land of Wiluša, all of them, consequently, the land of Arzawa became hostile thereafter. *As for the land of Wiluša, whether it broke away from any king of Hatti (lit.: withdrew from Hatti, from which king), since the matter is long past, I do not know.* But even if it b[roke away from] Hatti, [its kings(?)¹⁰⁵]

¹⁰¹ Wilhelm forthcoming: „A critical examination of this text and the comparison with the data from other texts reveal that it is not a linear narrative of a sequence of events but a text which follows the principle of association and thus mixes events of the original conquest of Mittanian Syria with associated events from a later period.“

¹⁰² Altman 2004a, 31 f.

¹⁰³ CTH 76; Beckman 1999, 87 f., §§2-4; de Martino 1996, 35–38; van den Hout 2009, 79 f.

¹⁰⁴ Starke 1997, 473 f., n. 79: „Früher einmal hatte der *labarna*, mein Vorfahr, das ganze Land Arzawa [und] das ganze Land Wilussa unterworfen. Später führte deshalb das Land Arzawa Krieg; *jedoch kenne ich, da doch das Ereignis lange zurückliegt, keinen König des Landes Hattusa, von dem das Land Wilussa vom Lande Hattusa abgefallen ist.* [Doch] (selbst) wenn das Land Wilussa vom Lande Hattusa abgefallen ist, ist man indes aus der Ferne den Königen des Landes Hattusa eng befreundet gewesen und hat [ihnen] regelmäßig [Gesandte] geschickt.“ Starke comments, „Entgegen Güterbock 1986, 36 (wo „but Wilusa defected from Hatti“ darauf beruht, daß die partitive Apposition „vom Lande Hattusa, (d.h.) von welchem König“ im Relativsatz verkannt, infolgedessen der Relativsatz auseinandergerissen und dadurch auch der Aufbau der Periode zerstört ist) geht also die Aussage vielmehr dahin, daß Muwatalli II. *keinerlei* Anhaltspunkt dafür hat, daß Wilussa jemals abgefallen ist, und zwar soweit die Erinnerung überhaupt zurückreicht, da mit der Nennung der bloßen Herrscherbezeichnung *labarna* auf eine vor 1600 liegende Zeit Bezug genommen wird, aus der kein (vollständiges) Archiv-material verfügbar war.“ Cf. the renderings of the relevant phrase in Beckman 1999, 87 and in CHD L-N: 472a: „Because this matter is so remote, I do not know from which Hittite king Wilusa defected. [And w]hen Wilusa [defec]ted from Hatti, it was at peace with the King of Hatti from afar“ (KUB 21.5 I 3-8; w. dupl. KUB 21.2 + KUB 48.95 I 6-12).

¹⁰⁵ Following the restoration of de Martino 1996, 36, n. 150.

kept the peace with the kings of Hatti from afar, and they regularly sent them messengers. When Tuthaliya came [to battle(?)] in the land of Arzawa, [... in the land of] Wiluša he did not enter. It was] at peace always and regularly sent [him messengers.] They came [.....] and Tuthaliya [.....] the forefathers in the land of [.....].

- §3 The king of Wiluša [was] at peace with him, [and] he regularly sent [messengers to him], so that he did not [enter] his land. [And when] the land [of Arzawa began war once more], my grandfather Šuppiluliuma came [to attack it], but Kukkunni, king of the land of W[iluša, was at peace] with him and he did not come against him. [..... regularly sent] messengers.

The rest of the introduction is badly damaged, but it is clear that the account continues with Muršili's dealings with the Arzawa lands and then with Muwatalli's own activities in the West.

This long historical retrospect mentions the western campaigns of five Hittite kings over more than three centuries. The connecting thread, which also serves as the overall moral of the historical introduction, is the contrast between the hostile stance of the kings of Arzawa and the peaceful stance of the kings of Wiluša. Gratifyingly, all these western campaigns are attested in other Hittite sources and the information contained in the treaty has been compared with them. The last three kings, Šuppiluliuma, Muršili and Muwatalli, may be left aside in this discussion, since the real challenge of historicity is posed by the first two, Labarna and Tuthaliya, with a large chronological gap between them.

In his third campaign Hattušili I „marched against Arzawa and took cattle and sheep“.¹⁰⁶ On account of its brevity, this statement has sometimes been played down into „little more than a raid into Arzawan territory“.¹⁰⁷ However, since a Hittite control of Arzawa is also referred to in the so-called ‘Palace Chronicles’,¹⁰⁸ I see no reason to doubt the historicity of the account of the campaign of a Labarna (probably Labarna II/Hattušili I) in the Alakšandu treaty. Whatever its extent, this first military intervention was conceived by later generations as legitimating Hittite control in the Arzawa lands. Though included in this broad geopolitical unit, Wiluša followed a different political path from the rest of its constituents.

The next phase in the narrative refers to the long interval of some two centuries between the western campaigns of Labarna (II) and Tuthaliya (I). The author simply admits that he lacks exact information about Wiluša's political stance in this period. The traditional rendering of the passage presupposes that Wiluša deserted Hatti at some

¹⁰⁶ KBo 10.1 obv. 10; 10.2 I 22 f.; de Martino 2003, 36 f.

¹⁰⁷ Bryce 2005, 74; cf. also Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 17.

¹⁰⁸ See refs. In Bryce 2005, 410, n. 56.

point, but the author ignores under which king. To my mind, Starke's rendering, according to which the author claims ignorance regarding whether Wiluša had ever deserted at all, makes more sense and is more consistent with the overall gist of the narrative. Whichever rendering is the correct one, the author confesses here his ignorance of a certain phase in the history of the bilateral relations, a most remarkable feature to which I shall return later on.

The following episode describes at length the intervention(s) of Tuthaliya (I) in Arzawa and Wiluša. Despite the damaged parts, we can safely assume that this passage continues to describe Wiluša's unflagging loyalty as opposed to Arzawa's unruliness. Now, this positive description has been contrasted with the annals of Tuthaliya, where Wilušiya figures among the lands of the defeated Aššuwān confederation.¹⁰⁹ Assuming that Wiluša and Wilušiya are the same, and allowing that the same Tuthaliya is referred to in both contexts,¹¹⁰ there may indeed be an apparent contradiction between the two narratives. However, there may be other less rigid interpretations of this alleged contradiction. In the annals of Tuthaliya Wilušiya (followed by Taruša) appears toward the end of a long list of 22 place names comprising the Aššuwān Confederacy. The text generally states that the Hittite king defeated the joint army of the enemy and then entered their lands,¹¹¹ but there is no specific reference to the conquest of any of the lands making up the confederacy. One can think of a number of scenarios in which Wilušiya itself was not taken by force, for instance, that its king, like his forefathers, may have surrendered to the Hittites. In any case, to glean from the juxtaposition of these two sources that „the drafters of the treaty intentionally distorted the facts“¹¹² is, to my mind, stretching the point too far. If anything is worthy of emphasis in the introduction of the Alakšandu treaty, it is the remarkable ability of its author to provide such a long retrospect of the relations between the two lands.

No less remarkable is the author's admission of ignorance about a certain period in the distant past, an extraordinary comment which, curiously, has not been given due attention in previous commentaries. I am not aware of any comparable disclosure of

¹⁰⁹ KUB 23.11 ii 19; Carruba 2008, 38 f.

¹¹⁰ The common view maintains that the same Tuthaliya I is referred to in both contexts (e.g. Güterbock 1986, 43), but cf. de Martino 2005, 554, who suggests that the Tuthaliya mentioned in the treaty is Tuthaliya III (Šuppiluliuma's father), who did not fight against Wiluša.

¹¹¹ Bryce 2005, 124 f.; Carruba 2008, 31–54. The victory over the Aššuwān Confederacy is commemorated on a bronze sword discovered in Hattuša bearing the Akkadian inscription: „As Tuthaliya, the Great King, defeated the land of Aššuwā, he dedicated these swords to the Storm-god, his lord“ (Bryce 2005, 125 f., with refs.). On the other hand, the Ankara silver bowl with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription commemorating the conquest of Tarwiza by a Tuthaliya cannot refer to this early period; see Simon 2009; Durnford 2010.

¹¹² Altman 2004a, 32; cf. also Altman 2004b, 63: „Nevertheless, by using sophistry, yet without employing blunt lies, the Hittite drafters tricked the unfamiliar reader to believe that ever since the past conquest of Wiluša by Labarna II, Wiluša acknowledged the suzerainty of Hatti.“

ignorance written in the name of a Great King, but even if Near Eastern parallels do exist, they are presumably extremely rare. I would assert that Muwatalli's admission of his ignorance with regard to a certain period paradoxically lends more credibility to the narrative as a whole. Why would he or his scribes bother to insert this surprising statement? Would it not be easier for him to categorically state that Wiluša *never* defected from Hatti, or at least to tactfully ignore those 'missing years'? That would have served much better his political purpose of claiming three centuries of uninterrupted Hittite sovereignty over Wiluša. What would he have risked? A strong protest on the part of Alakšandu about the distortion of history?

III.5 The second episode that allegedly demonstrates the deliberate falsification of truth, according to Altman, concerns the early history of Amurru. We are fortunate to possess a series of four treaties covering the period from Aziru's submission to Hatti to Šaušgamuwa about a century later. Each of these treaties opens with a historical introduction describing the circumstances of Amurru's entry into the Hittite fold. These introductions were not copied mechanically from one treaty to the next, but were newly formulated for each document taking into account the unfolding historical circumstances and the requirements of their specific age.

The treaty of Šuppiliuma and Aziru has the most dramatic opening, emphatically underlining Aziru's voluntary defection from the Egyptian camp to the victorious Hittite camp:

Aziru, king of [Amurru], rose up from the gate of Egypt and submitted himself to My Majesty, king of Hatti. And I, My Majesty, Great King, [accordingly rejoiced] very much. Should I, My Majesty, Great King, not have accordingly rejoiced very much as I [...] to Aziru? When Aziru [knelt down] at the feet of My Majesty] – I, My Majesty, Great King, [took up] Aziru and ranked him among his brothers.¹¹³

The following two treaties – with Duppi-Tešub and with Bentešina – repeat more or less the same information, but less emphatically. In the former, Muṣili simply states: „Duppi-Tešub, your grandfather Aziru submitted to my father“. The rest of the preamble deals with circumstances of his own days, notably the growing threat of an Egyptian offensive in Syria. Therefore one of the stipulations explicitly states: „Do not turn your eyes towards another (land). Your ancestors paid tribute to Egypt, [but] you [should not pay tribute to Egypt because Egypt has become an enemy.“¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Singer 2000, 94.

¹¹⁴ Singer 2000, 96.

Hattušili's treaty with Bentešina opens with the statement:

In the time of my grandfather, Šuppiluliuma, Aziru [king of the land of Amurru] revoked [his vassalage(?)] to Egypt, and [fell] at the feet of my grandfather Šuppiluliuma. My grandfather had [compassion] for him and wrote a treaty tablet for him. He wrote out the borders of the land of Amurru of his ancestors and gave it to him.¹¹⁵

The last treaty, between Tuthaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa, suddenly changes its tune and presents an apparently contradictory version of these events:

[In the past(?)] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the force of arms of the land of Hatti. At the time when [Aziru] came to the (great-)grandfather of My Majesty, [Šuppilul]iuma, in the land of Hatti, the lands of Amurru were still [hostile]; they [were] subjects of the king of Hurri. Even so, Aziru was loyal to him, although he did [not def]eat him by force of arms. Aziru, your forefather, protected Šuppiluliuma as overlord, and he also protected the land of Hatti.¹¹⁶

Egypt is not mentioned at all. The lands of Amurru were allegedly controlled by Hurri when Aziru shifted his allegiance to Šuppiluliuma. Seemingly, this appears to be a gross distortion of history, squarely contradicting all previous treaties. On the face of it the two versions cannot be reconciled.

Sceptical historians had no qualms about explaining this contradiction as „clear evidence for the high level of ‘historical’ manipulations operated by Tudhaliya for the purpose of better ensuring Amurru's loyalty“¹¹⁷. Altman has labelled Tuthaliya's assertion of a Hurrian control over Amurru as „a false claim clearly contradicting historical facts.“¹¹⁸

Other commentators, with more confidence in Hittite historiography, tried to reconcile the contradicting statements. Kestemont (1978) called attention to several references to a Mittanian campaign in Amurru referred to in the letters of Rib-Hadda of Gubla.¹¹⁹ For my part, I have questioned the credibility of Rib-Hadda's allegations and attempted instead to reconcile the contradicting statements by making a distinction between „the land of Amurru“ and the „lands of Amurru“ (in the Bentešina treaty), the latter term referring to Mittanian-dominated Syria in general.¹²⁰

This was the state of the matter until a short while ago, when Jared Miller skilfully joined several fragments of a Muršili II text bearing directly on the problem of

¹¹⁵ Beckman 1999, 101, § 2.

¹¹⁶ Singer 2000, 99.

¹¹⁷ Zaccagnini 1988, 297.

¹¹⁸ Altman 2004a, 29–32; cf. also Altman 1998.

¹¹⁹ Cf. also Murnane 1985, 185 f. 235 ff.; Altman 2003; Morris 2010, 423 f.; Wilhelm forthcoming.

¹²⁰ Singer 1991.

Amurru's history in the Amarna Age.¹²¹ In this remarkable historical text the Hittite king justifies his Syrian policies before his Egyptian adversary Arma'a, probably Horemheb. Only the lower part of the two-column obverse and a tiny bit of the reverse are preserved.¹²² The first column deals with the defection of two Syrian vassals, Tetti from the Hittite to the Egyptian camp, and Zirtaya from the Egyptian to the Hittite. The second column deals with the history of Amurru. The latter passage is reproduced from Miller's translation (ii 1'-24'),¹²³ with a slight alteration in nuance (marked in bold face):

[... But when PN] sat [upon the throne of] kingship, Arma'a began t[hereup]on to *take* [ve]ngeance upon A[murru], and he sent troops and chariots to the land of [Amurru] to attack. But when I heard (about it), I came to the rescue, and the troops and chariots of the land of Egypt fled before me, and I [pu]rsued him. Thereafter I wrote right back to him (saying): 'You are *taking* [ve]ngeance upon the land of Amurru, but did I indeed take the [land] of Amurru away from **you**? Or did my father take it away from **you**? It was the king of the land of Hanigalbat who took the land of Amurru away from the king of the land of Egypt, and then my father defeated the king of the land of Amurru and [he took the land] of A[murru away] from the king of the Hurri land.'¹²⁴

At last an integrative document that solves the apparent discrepancy of Amurru's double allegiance. There were, in fact, several consecutive phases in Amurru's relations with the great powers of the Amarna Age: The long Egyptian domination was briefly replaced by Mittani in the last years of Abdi-Aširta, only to be cut short again by Aziru's voluntary submission to Šuppiluliuma. As aptly put by Miller: „In historical reality, Amurru, perhaps not always in a wholly united manner, attempted to maintain as long as it could as much freedom of action as it could by maintaining the best possible ties with each of the great powers that it could, likely trying to give each of them the impression that it was eternally loyal to them, until finally recognizing that it would be the Hittites who would be the ones to reckon with for decades to come, and in this Amurru turned out to be correct.”¹²⁵

¹²¹ KBo 19.15++; Miller 2008.

¹²² See join sketch in Miller 2008, 533. There is a striking resemblance in subject matter between this text and CTH 379, Muršili's 'Fifth' Plague Prayer (Singer 2002, 66–68), which contains a detailed account of Hatti's dealings with Egypt in the past. I suspect that the two fragments form part of the same composition (an exculpation prayer), and I intend to explore elsewhere the nature of the relationship between them.

¹²³ Miller 2008, 536.

¹²⁴ The badly damaged continuation in col. iii deals with the setting of Amurru's borders „wherever/when(ever) the Storm-god thunders“. This recalls Jupiter Fidius who seals treaties with his thunderbolt (Aeneid xii.197–205).

¹²⁵ Miller 2008, 549. It seems then that Aziru's 'clever ambiguity' did have a factual basis, after all, despite Zaccagnini's scepticism (Zaccagnini 1988, 299): „It would thus result that, in this case, we

It now seems that Rib-Hadda's repeated allegations about Abdi-Aširta's collaboration with the Hurrians had a more factual basis than I was ready to admit twenty years ago. When Muršili claimed that the king of Hanigalbat first took Amurru away from the king of Egypt, and only then did his father take Amurru away from the Hurrians, he was saying the truth. At the same time, what Šuppiluliuma claims in his treaty with Amurru was also true, namely, that Aziru came from „the gate of Egypt“ and asked for Hittite overlordship. This indeed happened soon after his return from Egypt, where he checked out the feasibility of a renewed submission to Egypt, after his father's failed liaison with Mittani. The swift advance of the Hittites in Syria, about which he learned in a letter from his brothers (EA 170), finally convinced him to switch camps.¹²⁶

I suspect that unrelenting historians will not accept the new evidence as an exoneration of Tuthaliya IV and his foreign office from the accusations of distorting the historical truth. They will argue that each of the versions presents only a partial picture, ignoring either the long Egyptian or the short Mittanian domination of Amurru. But doesn't this set the bar impossibly high for the Hittite historiographer? Which historiographer, ancient or modern, presents a fully comprehensive rendering of history on every single occasion that he evokes some past event? Obviously, the Hittite rulers were no different from any historiographer who tries to present his case in the most favourable light. Nobody would deny that such an instrumental use of the past is still a far cry from the disinterested critical scrutiny of the evidence by a Herodotus or a Thucydides. Still, there is a world of difference between the presentation of a partial truth, within the limits of established facts, and a complete twisting around of reality for propagandistic purposes, as often found in some other Near Eastern historiographies (both ancient and modern).

Future perspectives

The two cases discussed under III.4 and III.5 may easily be multiplied. All in all, I would claim that the historical introductions to state treaties, and Hittite historical texts in general, are as a rule quite trustworthy. I am not aware of any statements that are squarely opposed to factual reality, inasmuch as we are able to define it with the standard tools of historical criticism. It seems to me that current moods of excessive scepticism, influenced to a great extent also by Biblical historiography, are much

are confronted not so much with the ultimate results of Aziru's clever ambiguity, but with another significant issue of the highly sophisticated Hittite 'Historiography.'. It is now evident that Aziru was consecutively the servant not of two (Liverani 2004, Ch. 6) but indeed of three masters. For a thought-provoking comparison between the strategy of Amurru rulers and of Afghan warlords, i.e. of playing several powers off against one another, see Morris 2010.

¹²⁶ Singer 1991, 151–154.

exaggerated.¹²⁷ I would advocate a return to the principle of ‘innocent until proven guilty’, rather than ‘guilty until proven innocent’.¹²⁸ This is particularly crucial in cases when we only have a single source on a given event, i.e. the large majority of cases.¹²⁹

No doubt, the fundamental paradigm shift introduced by postmodernism has contributed important insights to the study of historical texts, especially by challenging historians to write a more reflective historiography with increased awareness of methodological problems.¹³⁰ However, like any theory that is carried too far, the hectic preoccupation with theory and the movement away from the historical context of the subject matter toward the structures of the text itself have resulted in an excessive ‘fictionalization’ of historiography. The total shift of attention from the *story* to the *discourse* (or *plot*) has all but depleted history of its elementary building blocks. Serious historical criticism cannot be reduced to a mere ‘*topoi*-hunting’.¹³¹ For me, *what* the Hittites have to say is at least as important as *how* they say it. The test of historicity depends on much more than a rigorous literary criticism of style and form. There are various other cognitive functions besides narratology, such as the inherent plausibility of an account and the given genre’s overall record of credibility, assessed in a broad comparative perspective.¹³² Above all, Hittite historical consciousness cannot be appraised in isolation, but

¹²⁷ On some of the excesses and errors of postmodernism in Biblical studies, see, e.g., Berlin 2010. For (a by and large flawed) juxtaposition of historical criticism and postmodern interpretations of the Bible, see Aichelle et al. 2009 and the cogent response of Van Seters 2009.

¹²⁸ Hallo 1990; Hallo 2001, 196.

¹²⁹ As pertinently observed by Barstad 2008, 36, „doing ancient history includes living with the frustrations that most of our data can never be verified.“

¹³⁰ For a balanced assessment of the pros and contras of postmodernism in history see, e.g., Evans 1999 (esp. p. 216). Claiming that even some of the postmodernist historians are „nursed on historicist milk and weaning is hard“, Barstad 2008, 15 pleads for a return to pre-modern „narrative history“, which contains „both fact and fiction at the same time“ (Barstad 2008, 21; cf. also p. 14 with n. 40).

¹³¹ There seems to be an implicit assumption that anything that can be exposed to reflect a *topos* is per definition unrealistic. Even a banal image like the submissive enemy falling at the feet of the triumphant king (amply depicted in Near Eastern imagery, e.g., on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III) is characterized as a mere *topos* which does not correspond to a truthful description of facts (Devecchi 2008a, 377). Are we supposed to think that in reality proskynesis of subordinate rulers was a mere figment of the author’s or the artist’s imagination? Even a highly sceptical historian like Hayden White explicitly states that „it is absurd to suppose that, because a historical discourse is cast in the mode of a narrative, it must be mythical, fictional, substantially imaginary, or otherwise ‘unrealistic’ in what it tells us about the world“ (White 1999, 22).

¹³² Cf. Potts 2001, 406: „The use of a text for historical reconstruction therefore depends not only on the compositional category to which it belongs, but also on the framework of comparative historical data available to us in the form of other textual or archaeological evidence, and on the analytical tools we are able to bring to bear in its reading.“ See also the insightful concluding paragraph in Roberts 2001, 17: „Finally we come to the question of truth. Beyond the question of the validity of

must be measured up against other contemporary historiographies. To my mind, despite recent attempts to play down its reputation, Hittite historiography remains one of the most distinctive and impressive merits of Hittite culture.¹³³

As Marc Bloch once said, „the historian’s first duty is to be sincere.“¹³⁴ Taking the risk of being castigated as a ‘naïve’, ‘lazy’ or ‘positivist’ historian, I still think, following Arnaldo Momigliano, that „the research for truth is the main task of the historian“¹³⁵. Nor have I given up altogether that much battered Rankean ideal of trying to reconstruct the past „as it actually was“ (or at least as it most likely was),¹³⁶ which still constitutes, in my opinion, History’s main fascination not only for the general public but also for the majority of practicing historians.¹³⁷

On a more practical level, it is perhaps time to redraw the porous boundaries between the literary and the historical disciplines. By analyzing everything as rhetoric and style, postmodernism has tended to push hitherto autonomous disciplines in the direction of literature, thereby proclaiming the „end of history“. ¹³⁸ Granted, Ancient Near Eastern studies seem to have suffered less from this ‘fictionalization’ of history, mainly because they are seldom integrated into History departments, often either constituting (steadily diminishing) departments of (Ancient) Near Eastern cultures (*Altorientalistik*), or being

narrative form lies the question of assessing the accuracy, adequacy and appositeness of the contents of historians’ stories. The postmodernists urge that the truth of historical narratives is not a matter of fact but of values. Others seek to re-direct attention back to the traditional philosophical discussion about ‘objectivity’ in the study of history. The pragmatists, it seems, are content to leave the matter to historians themselves on the grounds that, theoretically impoverished though it may be, a discipline that has produced such a vast and impressive body of knowledge cannot be entirely misguided in its efforts to produce true accounts of the human past.“

¹³³ For contemplations about the reasons for the special historical consciousness of the Hittites, see Forlanini 2004b, 249 f.; de Martino 2005, 556.

¹³⁴ Bloch 1953, 4, n. 1.

¹³⁵ Momigliano 1981, 49.

¹³⁶ Echoing the dictum of Lucian of Samosata: „The historian’s one task is to tell the thing as it happened. ... For history, I say again, has this and this only for its own; if a man will start upon it, he must sacrifice to no God but Truth; he must neglect all else; his sole rule and unerring guide is this – to think not of those who are listening to him now, but of the yet unborn who shall seek his converse.“ (*True History* § 39).

¹³⁷ This, of course, is my own subjective appraisal of the general ‘mood’ towards the study of history nowadays. The age of Internet, however, allows us to get a pretty fair impression of the public opinion without actually performing in-depth surveys. From the countless views on history that I read in cyberspace, I would like to quote (with permission) a quite representative one from the blog of a British PhD student of modern history (whose blog carries the significant name *Wie es eigentlich gewesen [ist]*): „It seems to me that the role of the historian in cutting through the fog created by innumerable interpretations should not be underestimated. If a modern historian can show their reader the past ‘how it really was’, this may well be more valuable, to the reader, than a critical appraisal of yet another secondary interpretation or contribution to a sterile historical debate.“

¹³⁸ Butler 2002, 32; cf. also Barstad 2008, 6. For some trenchant remarks on the alarmingly eroding boundaries between historians and beltrists see Van Seters 2009, which concludes with the rhetorical questions: „Is scholarship to write a novel? Is a novel a work of scholarship?“

affiliating to other departments, such as Archaeology, Art History, or Linguistics (Semitic, Indo-European, Non-European Languages, or the like).¹³⁹ Even so, the constant proliferation of ‘interdisciplinary programs’ (not only for their real merits but also as a convenient vehicle of employment and the winning of research grants) comes much too often at the expense of the core disciplines and along with the dilution of their traditions of academic excellence.¹⁴⁰ Beyond the important epistemological questions that they should repeatedly address, historians of the Ancient Near East are also compelled to safeguard their profession as a viable and irreplaceable scholarly and academic discipline. As the ancient Greeks wisely recognized, Clio and Calliope should each be given her due.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ At Tel Aviv University the discipline of „Ancient Near Eastern Cultures“ (Assyriology, Hittitology, Egyptology) is affiliated with the department of Archaeology. The Department of History begins its curriculum with Classical Greece, and during my thirty-two years of teaching I can count on one hand the number of times it showed any real interest in the „first half of history“ (Hallo’s expression). They usually justified this attitude by claiming that they have too long of a historical span to cover as it is, without adding another 3000 years of history... This may be merely anecdotal, but I think it reflects the state of mind of many History departments throughout the world.

¹⁴⁰ For an insightful assessment of the ‘newspeak’ of academic ‘restructuring’, see Anthony Grafton, „Britain: The Disgrace of the Universities“, *The New York Review of Books*, 9 March 2010. Of course, protagonists of the ‘literary turn’ ascribed the recent crisis of history to exactly the opposite reasons, e.g. White 1978 = 2001, 235: „In my view, history as a discipline is in bad shape today because it has lost sight of its origins in the literary imagination. In the interest of *appearing* scientific and objective, it has repressed and denied to itself its own greatest source of strength and renewal. By drawing historiography back once more to an intimate connection with its literary basis, we should not only be putting ourselves on guard against *merely* ideological distortions; we should be by way of arriving at that ‘theory’ of history without which it cannot pass for a ‘discipline’ at all.“

¹⁴¹ This refers of course to Hallo’s seminal article „Polymnia and Clio“ (2001); I think, however, that in the present context Calliope, Homer’s muse of heroic poetry, fits better the opposition between ‘literature’ and ‘history’ than Poly(hy)mnia, the muse of sacred poetry.

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